



Queen Margaret University
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USER CHARGES, MARKETISATION OF
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND IMPLICATIONS
FOR ACCESS IN DEVELOPED AND
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: CASE STUDIES OF
NIGERIA AND SCOTLAND (1980-2017)

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ABSTRACT

Global models of higher education and the degree to which they are influenced by marketisation vary widely. Despite the perception of marketisation reforms in university education being global, literature and focus are heavily dominated by developed countries and the studies that are comparative tend to compare two or more developed or developing countries. Given the perceived global nature of marketisation reforms and its drivers, a gap exists to examine marketisation in the context of a developed and developing country. Consequently, this study and my contribution to the field of public administration is an examination of the marketisation of university education in a developed and developing country context with emphasis on the use of charges and the implications this has for access by evaluating developments in Nigeria and Scotland. Both countries were selected because, despite perceived global nature of marketisation reforms and the expectation that developed countries would exhibit more features of marketisation, they appear to have adopted different approaches to managing HE, particularly on the use of charges for home students.

Considerations including the lack of comparable statistical data resulted in the adoption of a qualitative approach for primary data collection with semi-structured interviews conducted with 35 academics and administrators.

Research found that while marketisation reforms are partly driven by developed countries and IFIs dominated by them and while some features of marketisation are evident, charges which is a significant feature of market-type reforms is not used in Scotland due to equity of access considerations. Research finds that many developed countries that have charging policies provide services on a quasi-market basis where the government is still directly or indirectly responsible for funding university education due to equity considerations.

Developing countries like Nigeria on the other hand, partly due to pressures from external partners have embraced a pure market approach to service delivery which has seen the responsibility for funding university education shifted away from the state and onto students and their families, resulting in access being dependent on the ability to pay upfront, disenfranchising many due to lack of state support, credit or exemption systems. Secondary findings on wider features of marketisation indicated the presence of many features of marketisation in university education in Nigeria and Scotland and revealed a point of intersectionality between the HE systems in developed and developing countries due to marketisation reforms. Many students from developing countries now study with HE institutions based in developed countries and pay a premium in the process because some of the supposed benefits of marketisation are not evident in their home countries.

Implications for developing countries include a suggestion to focus more on what external partners do and less on what they say. While marketisation in the context of quasi-markets delivers some of the benefits which justify marketisation in Scotland; in Nigeria, marketisation delivers few benefits and has significant negative implications for access due to continued undersupply, increasing costs and the state abdicating its role in society. The study shows that equity of access and some of the other benefits of markets in HE can only be guaranteed by state intervention through regulation and funding, highlighting policy transfer challenges. The study highlights the limitation of markets in service provision in certain contexts and significance of the state.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DA	Developmental Administration
DFID	Department for International Development
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HE	Higher Education
FM	First Minister
IBRD	International Bank for
IT	Information Technology
IMF	International
IFI	International Financial Institution
JAMB	Joint Admissions Matriculation Board
NBS	Nigeria Bureau of Statistics
NORAD	Norwegian Development Agency
NPM	New Public Management
NUC	National Universities Commission
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PA	Public Administration
PM	Prime Minister
SAAS	Students Awards Agency Scotland
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TINA	There is No Other Way
TETFUND	Tertiary Education Trust Fund
UCU	University College Union
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UKCISA	UK Council for International Students Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States
WB	World Bank
WW2	World War 2

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0. Introduction

The university education sector in many parts of the world has in the past few decades changed from systems which were free at point of access or heavily subsidised to deregulated systems in which private-for-profit providers have been granted operating licenses, the burden of finance has shifted away from the state to students and their families, and a market approach to management has been adopted (Brown 2011b; Brown and Carasso 2013; Ogunyinka 2014). On a near-global scale, education policies are being reformed and are converging on a singular vision of “best practice” based on the tenets of neoliberalism or the market (Ball 2012). Contemporary developments in university education finance and management are summed up by Brown (2011c, p.11) below:

“It appears that everywhere there is a trend towards marketisation; higher education systems are being liberalised, with private-for-profit providers entering the market; tuition fees are being introduced or raised, with students and their families bearing more of the costs of education instead of the state; institutional rankings and other aids to “choice” are proliferating whilst universities and colleges increasingly devote resources to branding and marketing. In short, the market is coming to dominate”

It is against the backdrop above, particularly the perceived global nature of the developments described that this research evaluates the developments highlighted above in the context of a developed and developing country.

1.1. Topic and rationale: Expanding the debate

This thesis comparatively examines the implications of user charges and apparent marketisation of university education in a developed and developing country in the wider context of marketisation reforms and New Public

Management (NPM) reforms which scholars including Batley (1999), Larbi (1999), Brock-Utne (2003), Elliott and Atkinson (2008), Ochwa-Echel (2013) consider global. Nigeria and Scotland are chosen as case studies because, despite the perceived global nature of these reforms, one country appears to have adopted management and finance policies that locate it at one end of the spectrum of marketisation and the global perception of the reforms, and the other country appears to have adopted policies that put it at the other end of the spectrum, particularly on the issue of charges and its implications.

Marketisation of university education and the use of charges has attracted ubiquitous interest in recent times in many countries from academics and non-academics including Brown (2011c), Brown and Carasso (2013), Ochwa-Eche (2013), Idumange et al., (2009) due to the introduction and increase in the use of charges as well as other government attempts to engineer markets in the university sector and subsequent outcomes. However, most of these studies tend to focus on developments within a country, or when they are comparative, compare developments between two or more developed or developing countries. Very little attention has been paid to these developments in the comparative context of a developed and developing country.

This study attempts to expand the debates by evaluating marketisation in university education, not just as a developed country development but in a global context by examining comparisons of marketisation in practice and outcomes in a developed and developing country. This is against the backdrop of the promotion of homogenous approaches to public administration and service delivery in recent decades which favour marketisation.

Such a comparison is important because a review of literature on contemporary developments in university education finance and management in many developed countries including, but not limited to Molesworth et al. (2010), Brown (2011a), Brown and Carasso (2013), Albrecht and Zideman (1992; 1993); and in developing countries including Okebukola (2006), Ogunyinka (2014), Ajayi and Ekundayo (2008), Akinyemi et al., (2012), Brock-Utne (2003), Bamiro and Adedeji (2010) all reveal similar trends which show

that university education has become marketized and there is an increase in the use of cost recovery or user charges.

The literature highlighted above and cited in the body of this thesis consider marketisation in the narrow contexts of either one or more developed or developing countries and this limits debates on marketisation reforms, particularly the points of intersectionality between developed and developing countries attributable to marketisation reforms; practice and outcomes in developed and developing country contexts; and areas of policy transfer and lesson learning. This study expands the existing debates on university education marketisation by considering these contexts. Relative to developed countries, debates and literature on marketisation in developing countries are limited, this research contributes by adding to the body of literature that exists in this field. Marketisation of university education is also characterised by non-empirical and quantitative-based literature. This study, due to considerations discussed in the methodology chapter takes a qualitative approach which involved interviews with academics and university administrators to generate rich detailed contextual data to address the questions posed in this study.

Marketisation is discussed below.

Marketisation

Markets are a means of social coordination whereby the price mechanism determines the supply of goods and services, with consumers having the option of choosing between alternatives based on perceived suitability for them (Brown 2011c). This choice usually involves availability, quality and price (Molesworth et al., 2010; Brown 2011b). It is believed that managing economies on a market basis represents that best use of societal resources (Hayek 1944; Freidman 1962; Brown 2011; Brown and Carasso 2013). This is because markets are supposed to provide better static efficiency (ratio of outputs to inputs at any point in time) and superior dynamic efficiency (sustain higher growth rates over time through better resource management and products and process innovation) than alternative approaches (Molesworth et

al., 2010). Markets are often favourably contrasted with command economies in which the state controls supply and prices (ibid).

Marketisation in the university sector involves institutions having a considerable degree of operational, legal and financial autonomy; liberalisation of market entry (deregulation); competition between providers with students having choice of where, what and how to study; and user charges to cover all or a substantial portion of teaching costs (Brown 2011; Ochwa-Echel 2013). Marketisation, as described above, involves higher levels of private funding or charges usually by the service user.

A pure market should have all or most of the features described above according to Molesworth et al., (2010) however, it is also argued that no “developed” country has all of the features described above and as such, there might be a limit on the application of market theory to higher education in the context of developed countries.

Some of the justifications for why no developed system has all the features highlighted above present in their university sectors include:

- The significant role played by HE as an accreditor of knowledge
- The fact that HE confers both private and public benefits and undersupply will jeopardise this
- The challenges of obtaining and disseminating correct information about quality, an argument for state regulation exists
- Challenges arise on product differentiation and problems faced by institutions due to the length of product lifecycle and speed at which institutions can respond to market signals

Sources: Molesworth et al., (2010); Brown (2011b)

The justifications above have led many countries to adopt some features of marketisation and not others. Most importantly, in many developed countries that have adopted a charging regime, charges are facilitated by one, or all of government-backed loans, exclusion schemes and grant systems (Brown 2011c; Brown and Carasso 2013).

Le Grand and Bartlett (1993) use the expression “quasi-markets” to describe the organisation of the supply of services on market lines as described above. Quasi-markets are public sector structures designed to enjoy the supposed efficiency gains of markets whilst also enjoying the equity benefits of traditional approaches to public administration and financing. Given the similarities of reforms in university education highlighted in above in some developed and developing countries, the question of if marketisation in developed and developing countries results in quasi-markets, where the supposed efficiency gains of market systems and equity benefits of traditional systems of public administration are reaped emerges.

Drivers of the reforms come from many sources including local drives at the country level, however, in the case of developing countries, they appear to be externally driven by IFIs and external partners (Batley 1999; Larbi 1999; Brock-Utne 2003; Sowaribi 2005; Ochwa-Echel 2013).

Since the 1980s, a reform agenda for HE in the manner described above has been promoted by International Financial Institutions (IFIs). The reforms are best captured by the quote below by Johnstone et al., (1998 p.3), a World Bank report.

“The reform agenda is oriented to the market rather than to public ownership or to governmental planning and regulation. Underlying the market orientation of tertiary education is the ascendancy, almost worldwide, of market capitalism and the principles of neo-liberal economics at the expense of national regulation or planning”

The above is expanded on in subsequent chapters. Briefly discussed below are theories which informed the analytical framework adopted in this study.

Theoretical frameworks

New Public Management (NPM) and other theoretical constructs which are discussed in detail in the next chapter have also attracted significant scholarly interest in the last few decades and provide theoretical justifications for some of the developments described above including the marketisation of public service delivery, deregulation and increasing use of user charges for services including university education that were either previously free or heavily subsidized (Hood 1991; Falconer 1997).

Hood (1991)'s seminal paper on NPM was titled "*A New Public Management for all seasons*", suggesting that this was a theory that was applicable in diverse contexts.

Scholars consider NPM to have near-global reach and just like the developments in university education described above, various scholars have considered NPM in developed countries including Falconer (1997); Pollitt (2014) and in developing nations including Larbi (1999); Williamson (2002), however, most of these also focus on developed or developing countries and seldom compare both variables.

What has been identified above are apparent similarities in how the universities sectors in both developed and developing countries are managed as well as theoretical constructs that provide an overarching explanation for the similarities in these different contexts. The similarities and theory identified here provide an opportunity to comparatively evaluate these developments in these different contexts, to find out if outcomes are similar and the benefits or challenges of adopting policies that have a similar theoretical underpinning in different environments.

1.2. Background

Most countries have in recent decades moved from what can be described as a traditional, bureaucratic or Weberian approach to public administration and service delivery which is characterised by bureaucracy, government monopoly of service delivery, subsidised or free at point of use services to a New Public Management (NPM) or market-based approach characterised by a deregulated approach to service delivery where services are provided by competing service providers which can be public, private or third sector bodies, as well as a commercialisation of service delivery which favours user charges (Falconer 1997; Larbi 1999; Le Grand 2011; Brown 2011). The former approach (Classic or Weberian PA) is descriptive of the traditional approach to university management and finance policies, while the latter (NPM) appears to describe the current approach used to manage and finance university education in many countries.

NPM is described by Falconer (1997) as approaches aimed at reforming the procedures and organisation of the public sector and service delivery with aims of making it more competitive and efficient in resource use and service delivery. It is further emphasised that NPM concerns commercialisation or marketisation, as far as possible of the state's role in providing services to its citizens as well as its relationship with its citizens (Ibid).

Given scholarly perceptions of NPM and a marketised approach to service delivery including university education as being global; questions of what the implications of these policies are, particularly the relationship between charges and access emerge. As heavily subsidised or free-at-point of use systems, qualified individuals will have higher prospects of availing themselves of the services they need which in this case is university education. Will this still be the case under marketised systems of university education which involve varying levels of charges? This is a central objective of this study.

Given significant differences between nations exemplified by categorisations including developed and developing nations and, poor and rich countries, questions of; what the implications are of adopting a similar approach to management and financing of university education in these different contexts emerge.

As earlier indicated, Hood (1991)'s seminal paper was titled "*a New Public Management for all seasons*" and the paper discussed NPM's universality and its infinite reprogram-ability. NPM has attracted some criticism, particularly as it concerns the perceived contradiction between efficiency values (which is the primary justification for NPM or market-type reforms), and equity values (which becomes a challenge when a service which is usually free or heavily subsidised starts attracting increasing charges). Hood (1991) suggests that criticisms of NPM's universality need to be confined to administrative values – values that relate to conventional and relatively narrow ideas about "good administration", rather than broader ideas about the proper role of the state in society or else the criticism risks being dismissed as an undercover way of advocating different political values from those held by elected governments.

The question this research asks is; can administrative values, the role of the state in society and political values be separated? The literature reviewed in this thesis including the likes of Falconer (1997), Le Grand and Bartlett (1993), and Le Grand (2011) all describe the main outcome of NPM and market-type reforms as the development of quasi-markets where competitive service providers operating under diverse legal frameworks compete to provide services to "customers". Under quasi-markets, the government is still significantly involved in service provision. Are quasi-markets as described above the outcomes of NPM reforms in the universal context in which it is considered where "customers" from Nigeria to Scotland to the USA, to Somalia etc. enjoy the supposed efficiency gains of free markets whilst still enjoying the equity traditional systems of PA and finance provide?

Scholars including Larbi (1999) and Williamson (2002) have concluded that the imposition, adoption and implementation of market-driven approaches to PA and service delivery under theoretical constructs including NPM, Neoliberalism, the Washington Consensus, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), Neo-colonialism etc., which are all discussed in the following chapters in developing countries has not yielded desired outcomes however, these only consider developing countries. Evaluating these reforms in this narrow context runs the risk of the challenges or failures of these reforms being attributed to implementation inefficiencies or administrative values as Hood (1991) argues.

A comparative evaluation of these developments which considers a developed and developing country by examining reform implications for a specific sector, (the university sector) will show if the “administrative values” and “good administration”, (justifications for NPM) that significantly alters the role of the state in society results in similar outcomes, or if it needs to be balanced with equity values. This could mean that the supposed benefits of market-type reforms are incompatible with equity values in certain contexts if the outcomes in the two different contexts are to be similar.

This could potentially challenge the “all seasons” quality of NPM as described by Hood (1991), if the administrative approach is to remain NPM, and show that administrative values cannot be separated from political values and the role of government in society.

Further context of how the reforms described above have impacted the university sectors in the target countries are provided below.

1.3. Marketisation reforms and university education in the UK and Nigeria

England

Reforms in university education in England were prompted by the need to make savings and cut the deficit (Brown 2011b). This necessitated the move to repayable loans and away from teaching grants which ensured that the

university sector had the funding it needed while savings were made to government expenditure (ibid). In the context of historical developments in British higher education, contemporary reforms are considered as the latest and the most intensive stage in the continuous marketisation process which began with the introduction of full cost charges for foreign students in 1980 (Brown and Carasso 2013).

The reforms to the university sector also need to be considered in the wider context of general reforms to the public sector as highlighted by the earlier discussion of NPM. Taylor-Gooby and Stoker (2011) describe the reforms in the UK as a wider restructuring of public services and welfare benefits that move the nation in a new direction, rolling back the state's role in public life and shifting responsibility from the state to the individual.

What is described above captures the theoretical essence of NPM reforms and other theoretical constructs which are reviewed extensively in the next chapter, which all emphasise reduced state intervention and more marketisation. This has been a feature of the public sector and service delivery reforms in many nations in the last few decades and is considered a relatively global phenomenon (Larbi 1999).

The phenomenon is best captured by Francis Fukuyama's "*end of history*" and his central thesis that Western liberal ideology which favours marketisation appears to have outlasted other ideologies which favour other approaches which involve significant state involvement and dependence.

Nigeria

Traditionally, and in alignment with the principles of classic public administration, service delivery and financing of public services, the mainstream position amongst academics and policymakers was that the state should take significant responsibility in financing and supplying educational services (Colclough 1996). In the past few decades and in alignment with the NPM and neoliberal approach to PA and service delivery, the argument from

neoliberal critics has been that education should be more directly financed by private households, particularly in developing countries (Brock-Utne 2003; Ochwa-Echel 2013).

Various World Bank publications on higher education funding in developing nations including World Bank (1986; 1988; 1994; 1995) etc., and publications including Ziderman and Albrecht (1995), Hartnett (2000), Saint et al., (2003) emphasised that fewer funds should be devoted to higher education and alternative models of raising funds, including the use of charges should be explored. Idumange et al., (2009) talk about the “unquestionable adherence by many developing countries, including Nigeria to the World Bank’s position not to invest massively in the HE sector which resulted in the neglect of the sector in areas of management, control and funding. Other scholars including Brock-Utne (2003) in *“Formulating higher education policies in Africa: The pressure from external forces and the neoliberal agenda”* discuss the role played by external agents particularly the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) in policy formulation in Africa. Scholars including Sowaribi (2005) and Ochwa-Echel (2013) discuss the impacts of neoliberalism and marketisation in university education in Sub-Saharan Africa which have resulted in less state funding and more private funding.

The reforms as described above and directed by IFIs and the countries that dominate them were implemented through Structural Adjustment Programs which were a series of reforms imposed on many developing countries in the 1980s onwards as conditions for financial assistance (Larbi 1999; Ochwa-Echel 2013). With many countries facing balance of payments deficits due to economic decline in the 1970s and 1980s, indebted governments were compelled to reduce spending, privatize services and industry, cheapen labour, weaken environmental and labour protection, open markets to multinationals, devalue their currencies and relax controls on capital movements as conditions for financial relief by IFIs and net-lending countries (Sowaribi 2005; Batley 1999; Larbi 1999). The SAP reforms were supposed to

control inflation, reduce the budget and balance of payment deficits and spur growth. The reforms instead resulted in job losses; rampant devaluation; an exponential increase in inflation; the balance of payment and budget deficits; people working more to pay for goods and services; loss of access to farmable land; cheap multi-national takeovers of local assets; and the introduction of charges for healthcare and education (ibid).

Higher education was particularly singled out in these reforms and the position of IFIs on education based on World Bank reports earlier cited was that HE primarily benefitted the elites and had lower return rates than basic education and as such, funding for HE should be reduced based on efficiency and egalitarian considerations (Brock-Utne 2003; Sowaribi 2005; Ochwa-Echel 2013).

The central theme for all the scholarly outputs highlighted above which are discussed in depth in chapter 5, are a change from university systems that are mainly state monopolies and heavily subsidised, or free at point of use systems (characteristic of the traditional approach to PA) to deregulated and marketised systems that involve less or no subsidies, and direct user charges (characteristic of the NPM approach). The reforms in developing countries including Nigeria bears similarities to the changes earlier highlighted for England and is attributed to pressures from external bodies, mainly IFIs and lender nations.

Francis Fukuyama in *“the end of History”* while talking about the Soviet Union suggests that while Soviet leaders might understand the economic logic of marketisation, like leaders of a third world country facing the IMF, they are afraid of the social consequences of ending consumer subsidies and other types of dependence on the state sector. This highlights the pressures put on developing countries to marketise by IFIs and countries that dominate them. This confirms earlier discussions on this issue and is extensively discussed in subsequent chapters in the contexts of policy transfer, power imbalances

between nations in a post-colonial and developmental context and the neoliberal hegemony. Another issue that emerges from Fukuyama (1989)'s position is; what happens when developing countries do end or reduce the subsidies and marketise as discussions so far have indicated? This is a research objective and Nigeria is used a case study to investigate this. As the literature in chapter 5, will show, the Nigerian university sector has witnessed deregulation which has seen the market entry of private providers, government subsidies have reduced significantly, and the use of charges has increased exponentially (Idumange et al., 2009; Ogunyinka 2014). This mirrors developments in England and the theoretical conceptualisations of reforms of this nature being global.

Scotland

In Scotland, even before devolvement of powers from Westminster, education had always been devolved since the Act of the Union and Scotland had always had control over its education system (Jeffery 2010). Nevertheless, based on the perception of NPM and marketisation, including in university education being global, Scotland's control over its education sector should not matter. Instead, it would be expected that Scotland would be pursuing a marketisation approach, in common with what has been discussed so far for Nigeria and England, which is marketisation, including the use of charges.

The Ministerial foreword in ScotGov (2011: 2), a Scottish Government publication on marketisation developments and increase in the use of charges in the English university sector highlighted that "*our approach is to follow our own path and reject moves in other parts of the UK to fully transfer the financial burden associated with learning to the learner and away from the state*". This highlights a different approach characterised by state intervention and a classic approach to PA and service delivery.

Despite the apparent divergence in management and funding approach taken by Scottish universities, Denholm (2017) quotes Doug Chalmers, a president of the UCU Scotland lecturers union who made the argument that

marketisation in England and its underlying ideologies still has impacts for the Scottish university sector.

What has been identified above are developments in the management and finance of university sectors in recent times and theories that explain these developments. While the reforms theoretically should promote less state involvement, more choice, voice and efficiency, the literature suggests that the reforms also need to be considered from an equity perspective and this is what this research evaluates in the context of developed and developing countries using Nigeria and Scotland as case studies.

Based on discussions so far, the next section discusses the specific aims and objectives of this study.

1.4. Research aim and objectives

Numerous studies have explored developments in university education in recent times from many angles and some have been comparative, however, most of the comparative studies tend to explore developments in two or more developed countries or two or more developing countries. Given the perceived universal nature of NPM and marketisation reforms in developed and developing countries alike, a study that explores the developments by comparing a developed and developing country is vital in evaluating the reforms and their implications in different contexts.

For the reasons above, the research detailed within this thesis comparatively analyses the reforms in university education management and finance in Nigeria and Scotland in the last few decades and the implications of these reforms for access, with emphasis on the use of charges for undergraduate students classed as home students. The research critically evaluates the extent to which marketisation reforms, particularly the use of charges are global as well as outcomes. The research will demonstrate the role IFIs and some developed countries play in policies implemented by developing nations

using developmental and postcolonial theories. Finally, this study questions the suitability of approaches to PA and service delivery that favour less state intervention and more personal contribution by service users in developing nations like Nigeria as promoted by IFIs and net lending nations.

The specific research objectives are to:

1. Critically examine developments in university education finance and management policies, with emphasis on the use of charges in Nigeria and Scotland and evaluate implications for access.
2. Investigate the extent to which university education in both locations can be considered marketised by evaluating the extent to which features of NPM can be observed in university education and consider outcomes.
3. Evaluate the extents to which similar policies for management of university education and general service delivery by extension can be adopted in seemingly different countries and consider implications for outcomes.

1.5. Methodological approach

Most of the existing literature on marketisation of university education including Brown (2011), Brown and Carrasso (2013), Ochwa-Echel (2013), Ogunyinka (2014), or developments in public administration and service delivery including Hood (1991); Ferlie et al., (1996); Falconer (1997), respectively are not empirical. The literature that is empirical tends to be quantitative and involve analysis of statistical data. While statistical data exists in Scotland and many developed countries on variables including income levels, socio-economic classifications, access for services like HE based on socio-economic status etc., the existence of similar comparable data in Nigeria is limited.

Consequently, a qualitative approach which involves semi-structured interviews with university education stakeholders is adopted. The comparative

nature of this study also calls for a methodological approach that is contextual and can incorporate the differences between the locations under evaluation where it matters. This is vital in exploring what the themes being examined mean in the different contexts being evaluated. An interpretive or qualitative approach integrates human interest into a study and stresses the importance of the researcher as a social actor that appreciates the difference between variables (Creswell 2012).

It is vital to highlight that social challenges can be extremely complex and often impossible to analyse in its entirety. Researchers are usually faced with a choice of examining large entities whilst reducing the number of properties used to define them or comprehensively examine smaller samples (Sayer 1992). As highlighted above, marketisation and NPM reforms are considered global and affect sectors of the economy beyond university education and various theories including NPM, neoliberalism, the Washington Consensus, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), postcolonialism, developmental theories etc. can serve as theoretical frameworks for evaluation, however, it would be practically impossible for most studies let alone a PhD to explore these developments in as many sectors or in as many countries as possible, using as many theories for evaluation within the time and resources available. Consequently, this study has been limited to the developments in a single sector (the university sector) in two case study countries (Nigeria and Scotland), using NPM as a framework for evaluation. The approach adopted here is to study two cases intensively. Studying Nigeria and Scotland in the limited contexts being attempted here allows the way causal processes operate in different cases to be examined. Studying more than one case also provides a basis for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings (Bryman 2004).

An interpretive approach allows for qualitative aspects of cross-cultural/national variances in social inquiry to be investigated in-depth. For example, does marketisation mean the same thing in Nigeria and Scotland?

The data collected through interpretive studies is associated with a high level of validity provided they are well designed because the data tends to be robust, trustworthy and honest (Saunders et al., 2012). This approach appears ideal for a comparative research of this nature because it can allow for contextualisation and the generation of rich detailed data which can be contextually analysed.

The decision to evaluate Nigeria and Scotland which can be considered the researcher's "native" countries is a consequence of various influences. Deep familiarity with the issues and variables being researched makes for good research (Fay 1996). An epistemological dilemma in comparative studies is the question of the extent to which it is possible for a researcher to delve into a different context, acquaint themselves with the world of meaning attached to that context and position themselves to compare worlds of others which are different from the researcher's (ibid).

A study is said to be cross-national and comparative, when teams or individuals set out to investigate specific phenomena or issues in two or more entities (countries, organisations etc.) with an express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings (customs, institutions, values systems, traditions, languages, lifestyles, thought patterns), by employing the same research instruments either to conduct new empirical work or to analyse secondary data (Hantarais 1995). This aim of such a research might be to seek explanations of differences and similarities, generalise from such similarities and differences, gain a better awareness and a much deeper understanding of social reality construct in the different national constructs being investigated (Azarian 2011). These are what this study attempts. Comparative studies can serve the purpose of understanding one's own peculiarities (Creswell 2012). Comparative studies can help to illuminate differences and similarities, not just in observable features of specific institutions, practices or systems, but also in search for potential reasons for those similarities and dissimilarities (ibid). Comparative researchers are also

forced to adopt a different cultural perspective, to understand thought processes in a different country but also reconsider their own country from a skilled external observer's perspective.

Nature of interviewees and primary data

Major reviews and commissions into the management and finance of university education in Nigeria and the UK, including the Udoji and Adededeji Commissions in Nigeria, and the Anderson and Robbins reports respectively involved individuals who were selected to contribute because they were considered knowledgeable about issues under review. This research took a similar approach to collect primary data by interviewing thirty-five individuals in total; seventeen from Nigeria, eighteen from the UK who were all purposefully selected because they were either current or former university administrators, academics or public-sector employees whose briefs involved higher education. Primary data is the perceptions of these purposefully selected individuals.

Value and importance of the study

This study contributes to academia in a few areas. One is a comparative evaluation of a developed and developing country in a single study in the context of marketisation reforms and the resulting outcomes. Closely related to the above is also an evaluation of a specific sector which in this case is the university sector against a framework of NPM and marketisation. While other scholars have explored these issues, they have usually focussed on either developed or developing countries. No study the researcher is aware of has also directly evaluated the university sectors of Nigeria and Scotland in the context of NPM and marketisation.

Research shows that criticisms of marketisation, NPM and neoliberalism, particularly as it concerns developing countries go beyond administrative values but speak to the role of the state in society.

From a practical viewpoint, this study shows the implications of a market approach to service delivery in developing countries and highlights the limitations of the market in certain contexts in providing equitable services. The

institutional differences and inadequacies between developed and developing countries which makes policy transfer or even lesson learning challenging are highlighted.

Finally, the study further increases the stock of knowledge that exists for developing countries on seemingly global phenomena including marketisation reforms in university education.

Scope and limitations

Due to time and resource constraints, this study focuses on user charges and marketisation in university education as it concerns undergraduate students who meet the threshold to be considered home students. Due to methodological considerations, findings cannot be generalised and is only limited to the perceptions of the individuals who met the inclusion criteria and case study countries.

1.6. Major findings

The study found that there was a need for context in the debates surrounding the marketisation of university education, particularly when considering it from a global perspective. While the marketisation of university education and the use of charges has attracted significant attention in recent years with Brown (2011c) arguing that there appears to be a trend towards marketisation everywhere, this study found significant differences in the practice and outcomes of marketisation in developing and developed countries after the evaluation of university education in Nigeria and Scotland.

Findings on the major themes which this study examined are briefly mentioned below.

- **User charges and implications for access:** It was found that for undergraduate students who meet the criteria to be considered “home students” in Scotland, the policy was that of no tuition. This meant there was no personal cost to students and personal economic factors were not a barrier to access.

In Nigeria, this study found that there is an increasing use of charges with charges in some state and private universities now exceeding the average costs of tuition that students receive. Participants believed that in a country where 62.5% of the population live in poverty increased charges will have negative implications for access for many.

From the narrow view of charges being a significant element of marketisation and feature of NPM, findings here indicate that while university education appears increasingly marketised in Nigeria, in Scotland, it is not. See chapter seven for findings on this theme and chapter nine for a detailed discussion.

- **Wider evidence of marketisation:** Considering marketisation more expansively in the case study countries using NPM as a framework finds some support for the claims of a widespread use of a market approach in university education due to the identification of many of the features of NPM in both contexts. See chapter eight for findings on this theme and chapter nine for an in-depth discussion.

Need for nuance: Quasi-markets and pure markets

There is a need for nuance in the discussions of marketisation in the different contexts of developed and developing countries. It was found that many developed countries have adopted features of a market approach in ways that limit its negative implications for home students (for example on charges and access) while positioning themselves to enjoy external benefits of the market. Even in developed countries where there is a direct charge for tuition like England, services are provided on a quasi-market basis, where users do not directly for services upfront. In many developing countries on the other hand, university education systems have changed from free or heavily subsidised systems according to the conventional approach to service delivery under public administration to pure markets in certain instances where service users pay upfront and aids to access like means-testing, loans or grants systems are not widespread, based on evidence from

Nigeria. Findings here suggest that quasi-markets have emerged in developed countries while pure markets have emerged in developing countries.

Points of intersectionality between developed and developing countries

Global developments in the past few decades have resulted in services increasingly being provided to or by people and organisations that are from countries different from the home countries of those being serviced. University education is not immune from these developments and this study identified that an increasing number of students are accessing university education in countries different from theirs, or within their own countries with foreign institutions. What was however identified was that this was a trend that appeared to predominantly work in only one direction, with students from developing countries like Nigeria accessing university education with universities in or based in developed countries like Scotland. While direct economic benefits to developed countries based on the developments described above could be identified, the benefits to developing countries were less clear. See chapter eight for findings on this theme and chapter nine for a detailed discussion.

The one-size-fits-all market approach

A final objective of this research was to examine if indeed a market existed in university education in developed and developing countries, the extent to which a similar approach to funding and management could be used these different contexts, and the resulting outcomes. While it was established that an increasingly marketised approach has been adopted in many developed and developing countries, many developed countries provide services on a quasi-market basis which protects home students from the adverse effects of marketisation. These countries, however, position themselves to enjoy the external

benefits of marketisation by adopting a pure market approach with non-local customers. It can best be described as a selective implementation of a market approach to service provision where end users enjoy the advantages of marketisation and little of the disadvantages. The lack of or inefficiency in the institutional capabilities required to anchor quasi-markets in developing countries like Nigeria sees them enjoying little of the supposed benefits of marketisation like choice and efficiency. The university sector in Nigeria and the service users are instead faced with accessibility challenges, and quality of service accessed being contingent on the ability to pay.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher famously asserted that “there is no alternative” in reference to markets and the bulk of the literature reviewed in this thesis including Bird and Tsioupolous (1997) take the position that everything that can be charged should be charged, however, as this research shows, charges and markets are likely to have different outcomes in different contexts. This research further adds to the body of literature that has been developed in the past few decades that question and highlights the challenges of a market approach and NPM in developing countries.

1.7. Thesis outline

The second chapter provides a review of historical developments in public administration practices starting from the development of classic public administration to the developments that resulted in the adoption of a market-based approach to service delivery which is discussed using NPM due to the robust academic interest it has enjoyed. An analysis of theories underpinning NPM relevant to this research including principal-agent theory, public choice and free-to-choose and their implications for HE reforms are also provided. NPM's theoretical justifications, relevance and criticisms are also provided.

Chapter three discusses policy transfer and provides a political and administrative profile of Nigeria since the primary audience for this research might not be familiar with Nigeria.

Chapter four discusses charging for public services which have become a prominent feature of public service delivery based on developments reviewed in chapters 2 and 3 and implications for HE.

The fifth chapter reviews and analyses historical and contemporary perspectives of administration and funding of university sectors in Nigeria and the UK. It considers the evolution of cost-sharing practices, various models that have been proposed and introduced and their implications in both Nigeria and the UK as well as the implications of these practices for equity in the context of the different socio-economic contexts of the two countries.

The sixth chapter provides the methodological positions adopted in this research and their justifications as well as the rationale for conducting a comparative study and the reasons for selecting Nigeria and the UK.

Chapter seven presents and analyses the data which addresses the primary question of this research, which is the use of charges in university education in Nigeria and Scotland in the last few decades, drivers and implications.

Chapter eight provides and analyses primary data on marketisation in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland and its implications.

Chapter 9 discusses the findings in chapters 7 and 8 using the analytical framework, theories and literature reviewed.

Chapter ten which is the conclusion represents major findings of this research while revisiting the research objectives to ensure the aims and objectives of the study have been met. The chapter and thesis conclude with recommendations and limitations as well as highlighting areas of potential future research.

1.8. Summary

This chapter has described the rationale for carrying out this research as well as its contribution and general importance. The aims and objectives of the research, as well as the justifications for them, are highlighted. An overview of the methodological approach to be taken is provided as well as a detailed outline of the chapters of this thesis.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

2.0. Introduction

This chapter analyses contemporary developments in public administration and service delivery globally and finishes with an emergent conceptual framework which is added to in subsequent literature review chapters.

Public administration reforms since the 1970s have changed public administration, governance structures and service delivery approach in most countries (Larbi 1999; Ferlie et al., 1996). Governance and service delivery has been revolutionized from bureaucracy and state-dominated service delivery towards the application of private sector management practices and theories which in academic and professional circles became known as New Public Management (NPM) (Hood 1991; Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Ferlie et al., 1996; Larbi 1999).

The term NPM is considered a shorthand for summarily describing the contemporary reorganisation of the public sector and service delivery organisations which brought their management, accounting and reporting approaches closer to private sector approach (Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Falconer 1997).

NPM is considered a global phenomenon which spread from originating countries to other parts of the World and has influenced government and its role in both developing and developed countries (Hood 1991; Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Larbi 1999).

This thesis explores the impact that reform in public administration and service delivery in recent decades has had on university education. This chapter explores the concept of NPM, traces its origins, drivers and examines its major theories and characteristics.

2.1. Historical perspectives

Dating new or radical changes to governance can be understood by viewing reforms as a continuous process (Sowaribi 2005). Governance is historically characterised by continuous administrative changes (Boston et al., 1996). While PA reforms had been occurring before the 1970s and 1980s, which are considered NPM's inflexion points by most scholars, the reforms were often incremental and disappeared as fads (Ferlie et al., 1996). NPM reforms, however, were neither considered incremental or a passing fad by scholars and instead came to be viewed as a paradigm change (ibid). Sowaribi (2005) highlights dual concepts that distinguish NPM from earlier reforms as: 'radical shock' (the replacement of a relatively stable 'state of affairs' with a new, distinct, but also arguably stable state) and 'a persistent political will' mainly through attempts to introduce and impose a significantly different ideology.

NPM scholars in the USA locate it within the 1970s and 1980s (Nikos 2000). Ferlie et al., (1996) and Falconer (1997) indicate that in the UK, since at least 1979, all-permeating and sustained top-driven reforms have been evident across multiple settings. The USA, the UK and New Zealand are considered originators or early implementers of NPM which in the words of Nikos (2000, p. 39) "*swept most of the world by changing or re-inventing public administration*".

Scholars including Larbi (1999) and Nikos (2000) suggest that because of the economic crisis in most countries in the 1980s, governments in many countries globally had to reform. The views of the authors above which are widespread raise two points: one; reforms by most countries was an adoption of practices which had originated and could be conceived as best practices to address local challenges; two, these reforms were externally imposed on some countries by others, mainly the World Bank and the IMF. The extent to which the two themes highlighted above are valid is explored in this study by examining developments in university education in Nigeria and Scotland.

Discussions on the origins of NPM is incomplete without examining the background to the reforms as these can provide rationale and justification.

Sowaribi (2005) posits that the motives behind the sets of reforms that became known as NPM can be classified into five interdependent categories which are: the economic, the intellectual, the political, the technological and the social. These same classifications are adopted in this section and serve as a framework for the analysis of NPM which comes below.

Intellectual drivers

The classic approach to public administration is dominated by German philosopher, Max Webber; former USA President, Woodrow Wilson and; Politician Stafford Northcote and Charles Trevelyan, a civil servant in the UK (Greuning 2001; Katsamunska 2012). German sociologist, Max Webber articulated the nature of bureaucracy as a description of how the public sector in Germany was organized. Weber's bureaucracy was a monocratic chain of command (top-to-bottom system) where policy is developed at the top and filters through the layers from top to bottom (Gruening 2001). In the UK, the Northcote-Trevelyan report published in 1854 was the catalyst for the development of the UK civil service which had similarities to the system described by Webber (O'Toole 2006). In the USA, Woodrow Wilson is regarded as one of the fathers of classic public administration with his publication "*the study of administration*" (1886).

The traditional bureaucratic model of public administration can be described as one under formal control of political leadership, based on a strict hierarchical model of bureaucracy, staffed by permanent, neutral and anonymous employees, who are motivated only by the public interest, serving and governing equally, and not contributing to policy but only administering policies formulated by politicians (Katsamunska 2012). This approach to public administration and governance was the dominant approach in most countries before and after World War 2 and was also reinforced by Keynesianism (which advocated government intervention) in the wider economy, the Phillips curve

(which implied a stable relationship between unemployment and inflation, hence made a case for deeper government control) and the development of the welfare state in some countries after World War two (Phillips 1958; Mankiw 2008).

Intellectual criticisms of this approach to public administration came from many angles including Hayek (1944) who, in *'the road to serfdom'* cautioned of the tyranny that will ensue from government control of economic decision making through central planning and argued that abandonment of classical liberalism and individualism will result in the loss of freedom for the individual, create an oppressive society, make leaders into dictators and consequently make individuals serfs. Other critics included Friedman (1968) who argued that the phenomenon described by the Phillips curve was short-term and predicted elevated levels of both inflation and unemployment in the future. Hayek and Friedman were members of the Mont Pelerin society which in common with think tanks like the Adam Smith Institute and Heritage Foundation advocated policies of lesser government and more free markets (Gruening 2001; Katsamunska 2012).

Positive post-war economic developments in most countries including the post-colonial states meant much of the policies advocated above in restructuring PA and service delivery were not implemented, apart from minimal reforms like the Program, Planning and Budgeting System (PPBS) based on systems analysis, central planning, microeconomic decision techniques and a system of inputs, outputs, programs and alternatives which was implemented and was discontinued by the US government in 1972 (Schick 1973; Gruening 2001).

Developments which are discussed next in 'the economic' justifications for NPM, however, presented an opportunity for some of the suggestions above to be implemented.

Economic developments

While the period post-WW2 is considered to be an era of significant economic developments in most countries including post-colonial states, which was partly supported by International Financial Institutions like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) also known as the World Bank (WB), the 1970s and the 1980s were the opposite in most countries (Larbi 1999; Gruening 2001). The economic crisis in the 1970s is considered by scholars to have put an end to the economic expansion that had occurred since WW2 and was characterised by high unemployment and high inflation or 'stagflation' thereby making Friedman's earlier prediction true and confirming a breakdown of the Phillips curve. Many countries including New Zealand, the USA, and the UK grappled with a significant economic crisis in the 1970s. Causes included the oil crisis and Nixon shock. The Nixon Shock were actions taken by then US President Nixon, the most vital of which was the cancellation of international convertibility of the US Dollar to Gold which effectively abolished the Bretton Woods system of exchange in which Keynesianism and other features that anchored post-war economic developments and public administration systems were grounded (Nixon 1971).

To secure economic reprieve, most countries turned to external bodies like the IMF and World Bank for financial assistance or debt restructuring (Larbi 1999). Conditions that came with financial relief included budget cuts in public expenditure and reforms in areas of public administration and service delivery (Ferlie et al., 1996; Larbi 1999). Larbi (1999) makes the case that NPM was borne out of economic crisis by indicating that countries that adopted NPM share common features typified by economic crisis which triggered a quest for efficiency and avenues to reduce cost and change approaches to public service delivery.

Nigeria and most of the developing World were not immune to these developments with most of them dealing with fiscal crisis as well as unsustainable rates of interest on existing external loans. Larbi (1999)

describes fiscal crisis as the forerunner of NPM reforms in Latin America and Africa. Sowaribi (2005) notes a difference in the implementation of the reforms that came to be known as NPM in developed and developing countries by arguing that while in developing countries, reforms were often preceded by an evaluation of Weberian public administration conducted in search of excellence which found it lacking, in developing countries, particularly in Africa, managerialism was religiously spread by Bretton Woods institutions including the IMF and World Bank. How were these reforms spread in Africa and Nigeria in particular? This is briefly discussed in the next section that addresses structural adjustment programs (SAPs) that were drawn up as conditions for financial relief by the IMF and the World Bank for most of Africa in the 1980s with an emphasis on effects on education.

Structural Adjustment Programs

The conditions resulting in the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programs, (SAPs) by most African Nations including Nigeria were brought about by external shocks which came about as a result of unfavourable international economic conditions including exponential increases in interest rates tied to debt servicing for external loans, reductions in the prices paid for commodities produced by developing nations and the adoption of protectionist policies by developed nations (Babalola 1998).

In common with a number of countries, Nigeria, in response to economic challenges secured some financial relief from international lenders and conditions for the funds involved a set of policies that came to be known as structural adjustment programs (SAPs). The goals of the SAPs were to; restructure and diversify the productive base of the economy, achieve economic stability and balance of payments, control inflation and reduce perceived unproductive public-sector investments including reductions in payroll, reduction and elimination of subsidies, and a sell-off of some government agencies (Ogbimi 1996; Babalola 1998).

The foreign exchange deregulation of 1986 and a \$250 million credit agreement with the IBRD in 1993 for the importation of fertilizers heralded the adoption of SAPs in Nigeria (Babalola 1998). These developments are explored in further detail in chapter 3 which focuses on policy transfer mechanisms and Nigeria.

Implications

The development described above had significant implications for HE. At this time, HE was almost exclusively managed by the public sector and one of the areas identified as inefficient and where saving could be made was the HE sector. Publications including World Bank (1986, 1988, 1994 and 1995) consistently recommended a reduction in government funding of HE with arguments that the responsibility should be shifted to students and their families.

Babalola (1998) argues that some of the implications of SAPs and in particular the deregulation of monetary policy and the consequent devaluation of the currency was a loss of purchasing power by citizens including university employees which resulted in people taking up second jobs to make ends meet. At a macroeconomic level, while devaluation was done to make imports less attractive and spur local production while making exports cheaper and to increase foreign direct investment, the opposite occurred with rampant inflation, stagnant local production and a now increased debt profile and interest payments to adjust for devaluation (Babalola 1998; Ogbimi 1996).

Budget cuts resulting in reduction and elimination of subsidies tied to tuition and living expenses also resulted in accessibility to HE being increasingly tied to the socio-economic status of the student and their family.

The direct implications of the reforms on HE are explored in more detail in chapter 5.

Political drivers: actors and events

Actors

NPM reforms were driven by a top-down persistent political will and can be attributed to the rejuvenation and accession to power of the political right, with the elections of Reagan in the USA in 1978 and a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher in the UK in 1979 (Ferlie et al., 1996; Gruening 2001). It is worth noting that in the case of New Zealand, the reforms were driven by the Labour Party, and that the reforms did not stop with the election of Clinton in the USA and the election of Blair in the UK who were both elected on the platform of parties traditionally on the left which historically favour a bureaucratic approach to public administration and service delivery. This indicates an ideological shift to the right of the political spectrum and preference for some of its inherent ideologies including marketisation and a limited public sector across political platforms (Larbi 1999).

The economic crisis which did not abate with the application of most of the mechanisms that had proven successful previously under Weberian PA and Keynesianism provided proponents of the ideologies behind the reforms to question the levels and costs of government involvement in the economy, the welfare state, government monopolies, and perceived lack of accountability in which consumers had no voice (Larbi 1999; Sowaribi 2005). The philosophical solutions promoted by these critics were that privatisation, market practices and choice for consumers could establish the efficiency, discipline and accountability that could improve the economic situation and improve public administration (Ferlie et al., 1996).

In the Thatcher years, the Conservative Party took the position that the public sector was wasteful, bloated, underperforming and over-bureaucratic, and this was a sentiment that was echoed about the public sector in countries including New Zealand, Australian and the USA (ibid). The arguments from all these different countries appeared synchronized with prescriptions that government should be lean, run like businesses, there should be more marketisation and

that the market effectively allocates resources, is an efficient coordinating mechanism, encourages enterprise and resourcefulness and fosters rational decision making (Larbi 1999; Sowaribi 2005; Ochwa-Echel 2013).

Ferlie et al., (1996) note that NPM reforms were driven politically from the top-down and this might justify why it was all-permeating and resilient in contrast to earlier incremental reforms which did not last. Boston et al., (1996) reached a similar conclusion in evaluating NPM reforms in New Zealand by arguing that major reforms need political support at the highest levels if they are to be successfully implemented. Most of the discussions above are backed up by a significant volume of literature on NPM reforms in developed countries. As indicated that the reforms in the case of some developing countries were externally actioned, political events which are described and analysed below shows some of the political pressures that resulted in the promotion and the adoption of these reforms.

Events: The Cold War

An event which impacted developments in this era was the Cold War (Ochwa-Echel 2013). While newly independent states were colonized and inherently reliant on Western European states as well as the USA, which all dominated supranational bodies like the WB and IMF, differing political ideologies which had emerged after the Second World War were competing for relevance and dominance in the international sphere (Sowaribi 2005; Ochwa-Echel 2013). With the era of forceful territorial subservience which typified colonialism considered passé', the competing political ideologies sought to exert their powers through financial and logistical support to the newest states including Nigeria.

While some African states including Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana had adopted a pro-Soviet Union outlook after independence, Nigeria had always been pro-Western (Ogundipe 1985; Ogbimi 1996). While the Soviet Union did establish relations and conducted business with Nigeria during and after the civil war,

Nigeria's international alignment was Western (Ogundipe 1985; Ogbimi 1996; Ochwa-Echel 2013). Despite this outlook, there was a perception by Western international partners that Nigeria and most newly independent nations were socialist (Ochwa-Echel 2013). Socialist inclinations by most governments in South-America, some African countries (particularly those in East and Southern Africa) as well as conflicts in South-Asia promoted perceptions many developing countries were socialist and pro-USSR to Western powers that incidentally dominated IFIs (Ochwa-Echel 2013).

The UK is not immune to these developments and was itself forced to seek relief from the IMF in the 1970s, an option described by Burk and Cairncross (1992) as one more expected of Third World nations than a Western developed one. Fearing that the UK might adopt a socialist approach, the US through the IMF imposed conditions that included reduced government spending and a market-approach (ibid).

The financial crisis and the approach by some developing countries to the IFIs for financial relief appeared to be an opportunity for the Western-dominated IFIs as well as lender nations to impose market-driven policies which eroded state involvement in most areas of public life (Sowaribi 2005). The implications were conditions which firmly promoted a capitalist outlook and opened developing countries up even further to the West through trade liberalisation and other factors discussed in the next two chapters (ibid).

Subsequent developments which resulted in the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union further entrenched the political ideologies in which NPM is grounded in. This prompted Fukuyama (1992)'s *'End of history'* where it is argued that the fall of the wall and the general acceptance of western liberal democracy may signal the final frontier in humanity's socio-cultural evolution and a final form of government. Critics of Fukuyama's thesis including Stanley and Lee (2014) have highlighted China, religious fundamentalism, Arab spring and rise of nationalism even in Western countries as evidence that ideological contests remain, however, Fukuyama stresses

towards the end of his thesis that "it is not necessary that all societies become successful liberal societies, merely that they end their ideological pretensions of representing different and higher forms of human society" (Fukuyama 1992). Countries like China also appear to have maintained their state-dominated economic model even though it can be argued that China has drifted towards a mixed-economy model in recent times.

Social drivers

Some of the rationales proposed by intellectual advocates of the reform policies that came to be known as NPM are factors that find support with people in significantly different countries and these have to do with the relationships between governments and the people or electors and elected or delegated officials. Lynn (2003) articulates this by arguing that while there might be varying levels of enthusiasm for implementation of NPM reforms in different national contexts, universal factors that are transcendental involve the relationship between democracy and bureaucracy, the people and administration, between the rule of law and sovereignty on one hand and managerial responsibility. This involves aspects of the reforms that meant that governments and its agents (elected or delegated) now had to be more open and accountable about processes and outcomes to an increasingly less deferential and more educated society (Sowaribi 2005). This addressed one of the criticisms of bureaucracy that processes were not visible to the average citizen, who was the end user of government outputs and that the end users had no voice or choice.

Political developments in the USA in the 1970s including opposition to the Vietnam War and the Civil rights movement undermined public faith in government (Boston et al., 1996). On these issues, advocates of NPM had readymade answers and took the position that politicians and the existing public administration arrangements were a major threat to ethical government, however, decentralization, local control and public participation in the affairs of the state which were all features of NPM could address these issues (Ferlie et

al., 1996; Larbi 1999). Boston et al. (1996) highlight the impact of NPM reforms in New Zealand on the elevation of the socio-political status of the Maori to that of the white population by the implementation of community rule which is parallel to Hood (1991)'s decentralisation which is classed as a feature of NPM.

In summary, the social drivers of NPM which the scholars cited above describe as universal involves a clamour by the average, more educated and less deferential citizen in most countries for more participation, better insight into government processes and outcomes and greater rights for diverse groups.

What made all these possible in this era which might not have been the case in earlier decades is discussed below.

Technology

Developments in information technology in the 1970s and 1980s at the time were unprecedented and Sowaribi (2005) describes two implications this had for NPM. One was that advancements in IT meant that the underlying philosophies, as well as processes of NPM, could spread globally at a rate that would have been unlikely earlier. The other was that one of the main processes of NPM which was, the disaggregation of units or local control, could be better facilitated with improved information and computing technology with better and often real-time communication possible within units (Larbi 1999). The implications of this for the average citizen who was also an elector in a democratic environment and a customer of government products was that it provided a broader and bigger insight into government and its processes in a manner that was not previously possible (Sowaribi 2005).

As discussed in this section, some of the factors that socially drove NPM include criticisms that Weberian Public Administration did not adequately address issues of choice, voice, openness etc. Scholarly critics of NPM including the likes of Hayek and Friedman and criticisms from some of the

neoliberal Think Tanks provided over time had yielded alternative theories and approaches which were not actioned because the existing systems worked at the time. Some of these theories became theoretical underpinnings of NPM and a market approach to PA when the opportunity arose and are discussed next.

2.2. Main theories that influenced NPM

Most of the extensive literature on NPM describe its characteristics and how it has been applied in different or comparative contexts, however not many discuss the theoretical foundations it is grounded in. A review of some of the seminal literature that does address these theories to some extent including Hood (1991), Pollitt (1993), Larbi (1999), Boston et al., (1996) and Ferlie et al., (1996) was conducted and recurrent theories that were mentioned, and in some cases discussed include: Principal-agent theory, Public choice theory, microeconomic theory, transaction cost economics and new economic sociology and these are discussed below based on their relevance to this study.

Public choice theory

The assumption with public choice theory is that 'man' is a rational being who acts autonomously and whose only interest is satisfying individual best interest (Buchanan and Tullock 1962). From a PA perspective, this would indicate that a service user would want a varied (choice) service that fits their need and offers value for money (accountability). This would appear to be a direct criticism of the idea of universalism where uniform services are provided to all without necessarily accounting for individual preferences. From a PA view, this translates to a broadening bureaucracy designed around producing these uniform services (trying to be everything to everyone) which can be perceived to be ineffective and inefficient, essentially a bloated system with a propensity for expenditure to grow where processes supersede productivity.

Public choice theory was developed by Nobel prize winner James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock in "*The calculus of consent: Logical foundations of constitutional democracy*" (1962) and applies tools of economic analysis to political decision making. Theoretically, elected officials make political decisions in "the common good" or "public interest", however in reality, political decisions are influenced by a number of parties which include politicians, bureaucrats, voters, special interest bodies which all have their own agenda, hence, when a group or body appeal to the public interest, they are advancing their own agenda (for example, it can be argued that striking academics that are denouncing marketisation are only speaking out because they have been financially impacted by marketisation). Theoretically, democracy guarantees, equal representation, however a criticism of bureaucratic systems which influenced public choice is that; politicians and bureaucrats circumvent this hence, public choice advocates smaller governments, a depoliticized society and property rights.

Criticisms of the book and public choice include the idea that the policy prescriptions on redistribution are unrealistic, it does not address income inequality, there are assumptions that all votes are equal. Some reviewers of the book and scholars (critics) of public choice describe Buchanan and Tullock and their work as intellectual forefathers of conservative right-wing justifications for greed and inequality (Widmalm 2016).

More importantly, the contexts described by Buchanan and Tullock and public choice theory appear to apply only in democratic countries. In the context of this study which compares Scotland and Nigeria which, for most of the 20th century was colonised or under military rule; what happens when policies developed, based on public choice theory are applied in non-democratic contexts? This study addresses this by looking at the implications for the university sector.

Another theory which impacted reforms in PA and service delivery is principal-agent theory and this is discussed next.

Principal-agent theory

The end users of government output are not just the general public but also the government itself. The government typically is the agent, which the principal (general-public) pays to provide certain goods and services because the agent has the expertise, however, the government is also a principal in the scenario above. For example, in designing public policy on HE tuition or immigration, the government might commission one of its relevant ministries to carry out studies on these issues, however, if the results do not fit the agenda of the government in question, findings can be suppressed. Agency problems occur because the agent (government) can have more information than the principal and this can result in corruption, inefficiencies, lack of accountability etc. due to the self-interest of agents and their influencers analysed above in public choice theory which might not always be in the interest of the general-public (principal).

Agency theory describes reforms which are initiated within, and outside the public sector to designate or create autonomous or semi-autonomous bodies in which policy implementation activities are separate from policy-making activities (Boston et al., 1996). Agency theory separates the provider of services which is usually the government from users by creating bodies (public or private) through special legal contracts which explicitly sets out what the principal expects of the agent and this mitigates the principal-agent problem by reducing the chances of the agent taking advantage of the principal. This theoretically reduces the probability of collusion, cheating, deception and shirking because of contracts in place. As with most contractual arrangements, significant economic returns accrue to the agent. Agency theory theoretically should make clear the conditions for breach of contract including penalties for breach of contract.

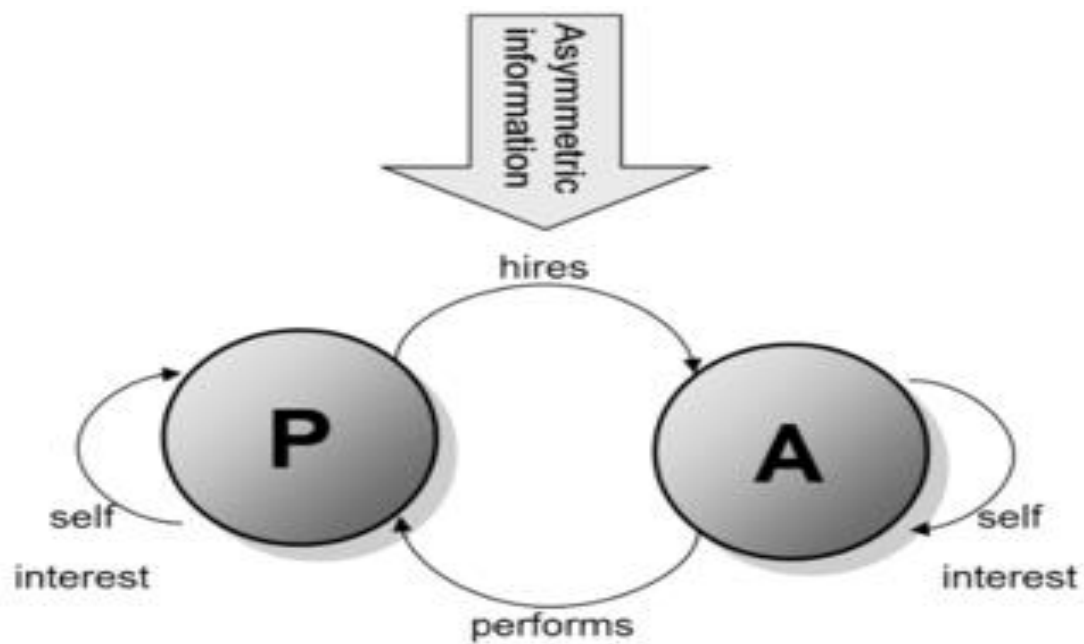


Figure 2.1 Diagrammatic representation of the principal-agent theory

Source: Adapted from Boston et al., (1996)

Friedman's Free-to-choose

In addition to Buchanan and Tullock's public choice earlier analysed as an intellectual basis for reforms along with the likes of Hayek, Mont Pellerin society etc., another relevant and significant intellectual influencer of these reforms is another Nobel Prize winner, Milton Friedman.

Friedman (1962) in "*capitalism and freedom*" argued that economic freedom and political freedom were interconnected. Friedman (1962) further argued that if policies of economic freedom are adopted, it is possible to have limited political freedom however when there is limited or no economic freedom, then the political freedom of citizens are infringed upon. Friedman advocated free market principles, laissez-faire economic policies and argued against interventionist government policies as advocated by Keynes. It was also argued that welfare practices in the USA created wards of the state instead of self-reliant individuals (ibid). Friedman and Friedman (1980) posited that human beings have deluded themselves into believing that the concentration of power (in the hands of the government) was not a threat, as long as that power was to be used for good purposes, which as analysed in discussions of

public choice and principal-agent dilemma is not always wielded in the public interest.

Critics including Goldman (2003) argue that marketisation policies have resulted in a generation of oligarchs in former Soviet Republics, however, supporters of free-market economies including Boyko et al., (1995) posit that the purpose of privatisation is “destatization” and that reform efforts should only be judged against this standard. Boettke (1993) argued that continued economic challenges in Eastern Europe are not as a result of privatisation but effects of the partial nature of some of the reforms that were implemented and continuing state interference in economic life.

The Friedman’s are important to this research because they, along with Hayek, Buchanan etc. became the face of the neoliberalism movement and some of their work and theories form theoretical backgrounds for various of public service delivery practices introduced in the late 1970s and onwards that became known as NPM.

Other theories that contributed to reforms include microeconomic theory and new economic sociology and these are discussed next.

Microeconomic theory

This concerns how consumers and producers interact in the marketplace. From a public service perspective, this refers to how social service providers and consumers interact in the “quasi-market”. Quasi-markets are public sector institutional structures developed to reap perceived efficiency gains of free-markets whilst keeping equity benefits of traditional “bureaucratic” systems of public service delivery, administration and finance (Le Grand 2011).

In a quasi-market, a public service is freely provided or heavily subsidized at point of use to the principal however, agents do not allocate service provider; the principal (service user) is free to pick a service provider (private-for-profit,

non-profit or public) thereby enjoying the free-to-choose principles advocated by Friedman and also addressing the agency dilemma (ibid). Classic examples include the university sector in England (where students choose, and governments provide loans, Scotland (where students choose and are not liable for tuition, voucher systems in America and the Medicaid system in America (Le Grand 2011).

The definition and conditions of quasi-markets given by Le Grand appear to accurately describe the situation in some countries in the context of reforms to public administration and service delivery. Given the comparative context of this study, the extent to which conditions like those described above where the government provides free-tuition university education or subsidises significantly holds true for developing countries like Nigeria will be evaluated.

Ferlie et al., (1996) take the view that quasi-markets are not perfect markets in a real economic sense so variables like competition, demand and supply etc. might not follow economic logic. On the other hand, service providers will be made to respond to demands from end users and regulators. It is further emphasised that quasi-markets are impacted by price, quality and incentives instead of the government, strategic choice, regulations and social factors (ibid).

Micro-economic theory emphasises individual benefits, efficiency and rewards tied to market forces, neglecting organisational processes and the sections of the public that are socio-economically unable to participate in the market which are the sections that government regulations are designed to protect (Sowaribi 2005).

In developed countries like the UK, USA etc, welfare systems, loans, vouchers and grants schemes for services like education exist, meaning factors that can exclude participation are unlikely to be economic. The extent to which all or any of these exist in Nigeria is explored in this research as well as the implications for the university sector.

New economic sociology

This concerns the social relationships that exist between users and service providers that is producers and consumers; buyers and sellers or principals and agents (Sowaribi 2005). This theory challenges the view that the market comprises of active sellers and passive buyers within a closed market system and instead posits that social relationships “trust, reliability, obligation and reputation” are vital in understanding how markets function (Ferlie et al., 1996). Buyers and sellers, both corporate and individual operating in a market will over time develop relationships which exhibit commitment, trust as well as conflict. Over time, common values and reputations develop, resulting in some trusted buyers and sellers who can decide to bind themselves to exclusive contracts which exclude others (usually the buyers with the least socio-economic resources or sellers with lower reputations like Post-1992 universities).

2.3. New public management (NPM)

Previous sections have analysed Weberian (bureaucratic) public administration and related approaches to service delivery, the various developments that resulted in the introduction of alternative approaches to PA as well as their theoretical underpinnings. This section discusses and critiques what the dominant public administration system in the latter part of the 20th century into the 21st century is and sets the stage for the primary focus of this research which is how features of this public administration approach have impacted universities in a developed and developing economy context.

Criticisms of bureaucratic PA, some of which had been discussed were that it was tedious, rigid, inefficient, ineffective, not accountable, opaque and unresponsive (Hood 1991; Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Larbi 1999). This called for a novel paradigm in administering the public sector and service delivery that could fuse public sector customs with market features, creating a system that was more responsive, efficient, effective, transparent and could provide quality (Nikos 2000). This fusion would enjoy the benefits of the market while

also maintaining traditional customs of public administration and service delivery of equality, impartiality and legality (ibid).

From Public (Weberian) Administration to Public Management (NPM)

The term “new public management” is a shorthand for summarily describing the contemporary reorganisation of the public sector and service organisations which brought their management, accounting and reporting approaches closer to private sector approach (Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Falconer 1997). While Hood (1991) is widely credited with referring to these reform practices as New Public Management (NPM) in 1991, the introduction and implementation of these reforms preceded 1991 (Sowaribi 2005). The doctrine of NPM highlights the “inadequacies and failures” of public entities over time and attributes these inadequacies and failures to the processes and nature of public administration and public-sector activity (Falconer 1997). NPM is widely used in the description of a culture of management in the public sector and service delivery that emphasises the centrality of the customer or service user. It also emphasizes non-centralised control through alternative mechanisms of service delivery like quasi-markets in which private and public providers of service compete for resources from policymakers and other funders (Le Grand 2011).

Larbi (1999) suggests that the reforms that came to be known as NPM were motivated by a combination of political, social, economic and technological factors which have all been previously discussed. Early adopters of public management policies that became known as NPM were nations characterized by fiscal crisis and an ever-increasing distrust of the public sector by citizens (Vigoda 2002). Most early adopters of NPM were states that had concerns with high public expenditures, balance of payments and service provision costs, for example, economic crisis in the UK in the 1970s resulted in an IFI intervention with conditionalities which included fiscal reforms and laid the blame for the crisis on an unreformed state apparatus (Larbi 1999).

This led to a quest for finding ways of delivering public services in more efficient and cheaper ways and ultimately led to the adoption of certain measures which became known as NPM (Dunleavy and Hood 1994). Hood (1991) described some of these features and they include visible hands-on professional management, increased emphasis on output controls, clear standards of performance measurement, more competition in the public sector, disaggregation of monolithic public-sector units, greater discipline in resources use and increased use of private sector management styles.

While NPM was initially perceived as a “developed country phenomenon”, developing nations have also adopted NPM though in their own cases, they were mostly not organic adoptions (local solutions to local challenges) but were usually pre-conditions of loans in SAPs from developed economies and organizations like the I (IMF) or WB (Larbi 1999). While the circumstances of the UK and Nigeria appear similar because the reforms were externally ‘suggested’ by IFIs as a result of financial crisis, conditions earlier cited including a democracy being essential among other things were different because democratic rule did not return to Nigeria until 1999. Ogundiya (2010) argued that public sector reforms including NPM in which citizens are not consulted and are externally driven without considering local realities usually end up failing.

Features of NPM

A review of some of the seminal literature on NPM including Hood (1991), Dunleavy and Hood (1994), Larbi (1999), Ferlie et al., (1996), Boston et al., (1996) etc., yield a set of reform features or characteristics. These include the following:

- Deregulation, privatisation, commercialisation and corporatisation at a large scale (Larbi 1999; Ferlie et al., 1996). Governments disengage from various areas of involvement where it is assumed that the private

sector or spun-off government agencies that function like private sector entities can manage activities.

- A move to change management from process management by managers in the public sector (Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Ferlie et al., 1996). These officers become transformational change managers instead of engaging in incremental, localised, small-scale reforms designed to maintain standards.
- Marketisation and managerialism (Boston et al., 1996; Larbi 1999). Senior public managers exercise significant levels of discretionary power and use tools like performance contracts, labour contracts, development plans, mission statements in classic private sector management styles.
- Cost-cutting and disciplined resource use (Hood 1991; Larbi 1999; Boston et al., 1996; Ferlie et al., 1996). Sowaribi (2005) suggests that this is the most basic tenet of NPM reforms and is ideologically neutral nowadays. It involves achieving the maximum possible utility by only applying the least amount of resources possible in any scenario.
- Encouragement of competition and the creation of quasi-markets (Le Grand 2011; Larbi 1999; Ferlie et al., 1996). This aims to make service delivery customer-driven and involves outsourcing and contracting to stimulate competition.
- A change to outcome and output controls from input controls (Hood 1991; Larbi 1999). Resource allocation is contingent on assessments of desirable outcomes. Regardless of processes involved, results must justify expenditure or resources used up.
- Decentralisation and devolution (Larbi 1999; Boston et al., 1996; Ferlie et al., 1996). Unbundling of organisations, development of novel structures of governance like chief executives or boards, spreading authority.
- Explicit performance specifications (Sowaribi 2005; Ferlie et al., 1996; Boston et al. 1996). Increased use of contracts between agents and

principals which state in detail respective obligations, use of league tables and performance indicators etc.

- Disaggregation (Hood 1991; Dunleavy and Hood 1994). This involves separating formulation of policy from its execution.

A few of the features above which are specifically relevant to this research are further discussed below.

2.4. Marketisation

Marketisation is the exposure of a service or industry to market forces (Falconer 1997). From an HE perspective, it concerns attempts to put the provision of HE on a market basis where supply and demand are balanced through the price mechanism (Brown and Carasso 2013). Falconer (1997) indicates that the proper operation of a market (pure or quasi) is severely undermined if service users are unable to exercise choice. According to this position, being able to exercise choice can be inferred to not only imply the presence of options, which is vital but most importantly, the ability to act on the choice by accessing the desired service which would be impossible if the user cannot pay for the service. It is this theme that forms one of the research objectives which the first findings chapter, 7, focuses on.

Markets and Quasi-Markets

Traditional or Weberian PA and service delivery is characterised by centrally controlled monolithic and monopolistic bodies (Gruening 2001; Katsamunskia 2012). In the case of services like HE or healthcare, these sectors in most countries including Nigeria and the UK were traditionally characterised by government monopoly in provision or organisations with alternative legal structures which drew a significant amount of their revenue from the government (Falconer 1997; Ogunyinka 2014).

What the reforms have introduced is a replacement of these structures with market-oriented structures subject to competition through the encouragement

and creation of multiple and diverse service providers from the public, private and charity sector (ibid).

The above approach to provision makes competition possible and should make the providers want to deliver the best possible service thereby delivering choice, quality and efficiency to customers, however, some of the resulting markets still tend to be supplier-led. A good example includes the National Health Service which is still characterised by medical personnel, authorities and providers making decisions for their patients on what services they can or cannot get within the system. Another example is the university sector where there is more latitude for choice, provided the consumer is qualified, however even in this sector, exit and voice which are equally important features of market-based systems along with choice and efficiency are limited. Scholars including LeGrand (2011) and Falconer (1997) describe these “limited” markets as quasi-markets based on observed limited freedoms on the demand side as well as limited changes on the supply side.

LeGrand (2011) describes quasi-markets as a form of public service delivery that retains government funding for the service but gives users a choice of independent providers that operate in a competitive market. It is suggested that when compared to government monopoly, quasi-markets can promote the autonomy, freedom and sense of well-being of service users, however, these benefits to service users are dependent on some “empirical conditions”. Empirical conditions discussed by LeGrand (2011) include the extent of public service motivation in public, private and third sector providers as well as contextual accessibility constraints or facilities.

LeGrand and Bartlett (1993) differentiate between pure markets and quasi-markets by indicating that quasi-markets, unlike pure markets are markets where services are provided by competitive providers as in pure markets, but where service purchase is financed by resources provided by the state and not from private resources of consumers. This differentiation is important because while most scholars will describe the HE education sector in many developed

countries as a quasi-Market, in some other countries, the university sector operates as a pure market instead of a quasi-market, where even though consumers have choice, they (consumers) and not the state pays upfront for the service. This is a departure from the definition, or conditions of quasi-markets above. In some of these cases, consumers do not have access to government-backed loans, grant systems or welfare systems as it exists in countries like Scotland (Umokoro 2013). As literature which will be reviewed in chapter 5 and findings provided in chapter 7 will show, the so-called “pure market” is what exists in Nigeria for university education. This means that accessibility to the service is contingent on the ability of the consumers to pay.

Comparing quasi-markets and state provision

Distinguishing features of quasi-markets include services that are heavily subsidised or free at the point of use, however, users have a choice on who provides the service for them (Le Grand 2006; 2011). The service providers could be state, public or third sector (Falconer 1997). Good examples are voucher systems where consumers get vouchers from the government which they can use with a service provider of their choice. In other systems, users could pay for a service and they get refunded by the government or they could make use of a service and the government pays the bill without resources passing through the user or their agents.

While the descriptions thus far are idealised views of quasi-markets, LeGrand (2007) suggests that even in systems that do not have monetary barriers for access, issues like comparatively poor services due to geographic locations sometimes exists. Dual systems where a system that is paid for runs alongside a quasi-market system also exist and these can have implications for access or perceptible quality differences.

State provision, on the other hand, involves State-held and operated organisations that often operate as monopolies and where predetermined methodologies exist for allocating service providers to users (Falconer 1997; Le Grand 2011). The main difference here is that the ability of the consumer

to exercise choice is limited. Good examples include education systems where choice is limited to a catchment location. The major differences between state provision and quasi-markets identified by LeGrand (2007; 2011) are choice and provider competition.

This study focuses on university education which historically has more scope for choice than some of the examples that have been provided, though it is also traditionally bound by some of the other features that have been discussed.

Below is a discussion on choice and competition as it affects this study.

Choice

Some discussion on choice has already been provided above with a focus on the work of Milton Friedman as one of the intellectual drivers of market-type reforms and NPM. Choice in the context of quasi-markets further develops earlier discussion.

Weale (1983, 42) described his “principle of equal autonomy” by formulating that

“all persons are entitled to respect as deliberative and purposive agents capable of formulating their own projects, and that as part of this respect there is a governmental obligation to bring into being or preserve the conditions in which this autonomy can be realised”

Le Grand (2006) suggests that being responsive to the wants and needs of users by offering choice in service provision is an essential element of according respect to deliberate and purposive users. The arguments here are that under state monopoly and allocation, service users are treated like pawns who have no control.

Utilitarian arguments are also made for choice with arguments that choice has implications for well-being or utility. Deci and Ryan's self-determination theory distinguishes between autonomous actions and externally influenced actions and posits that autonomous actions provide high degrees of well-being or satisfaction while externally controlled or influenced actions give less (1985). It follows that providing end users of services with choice in services like education or healthcare will yield more satisfaction. Libertarian arguments for quasi-markets by Le Grand (2011) sees user choice which exists in quasi-markets as a good in and of itself because choice is an essential component of individual liberty or freedom and freedom is itself good. Weale (1983) and Le Grand (2011) in their assertions, however, make assumptions that users are deliberative and purposive. Schwartz (2004) through behavioural experiments demonstrated that consumers can find too much choice demotivating and unsatisfying and argued that choice offers the opportunity for regret which is detrimental to well-being. Most importantly and for relevance to this research is the question of; what if you have all the choice in the world, but you cannot afford any of what is on offer by any of the service providers? Of what good is the choice? This is addressed through the primary question of this study which evaluates the implications of user charges for access.

The second element of quasi-markets is provider competition, and this is discussed next.

Provider competition

Comparing monopolised state provision and quasi-markets, arguments are that competition between service providers results in better service quality and increased efficiency in resource allocation, which should positively impact individual satisfaction or well-being (Le Grand 2011).

Arguments are that user choice and competition result in higher quality of service provision and increased efficiency in resource use by service providers as a result of the incentives provided to competing suppliers to improve performance since users can exit if they feel they are receiving a poor or expensive service (Le Grand 2007).

Contrasting competition in quasi-markets as analysed above with monopolistic systems of public service delivery sees government dominance of provision as consisting of low quality, inefficient service providers that have little incentive to improve quality simply because customers or service users are unlikely to leave because they have nowhere to go. A local hospital or local school under this system knows it is likely to keep receiving the same level of funding regardless of the quality of service it provides because users have little choice. Competitive providers in a market economy, on the other hand, know that customers have a choice, so there is an incentive to provide the best service they can at the best prices that they can. Based on discussions thus far, conditions that appear vital for quasi-markets include choice, competition, information about what quality is, which can allow users to exit the system and the ability to be able to exit the system.

The concepts of exit and voice and relevance to this study are briefly discussed below.

Exit and Voice

Exit as analysed above is an important feature of quasi-market or pure markets. For customers to exit a system, they are likely to have information on where and how they can get a better or cheaper service or both. In all societies, socio-economic divides exist and better off individuals are likely to hold better information and are often better placed to take action or use their voice. Hirschman (1970) articulates the scenario described above by saying that the powerful have a more powerful voice than the voice of the poorer, less articulate or less confident groups.

University education is perhaps a peculiar case for evaluating the concept of exit and voice as it applies to markets or quasi-markets because unlike services like primary or secondary education or healthcare where under state dominated monopolistic systems, pure markets or quasi-markets, in which people move from one provider to another, customers of universities are more

likely to exit the system entirely than they are to move to another provider. In this peculiar service sector (university sector), the extent to which service users have comprehensive information about the product that they are buying and the service provider they are buying from is debatable and well beyond the scope of this study.

As in the section above, the question needs to be asked; of what good is exit and voice if the consumer cannot afford the service to begin with? This research addresses this question using university education in Nigeria.

Service provider motivation: Differentiating state monopoly and market provision

Le Grand (2011) suggests that a factor vital to the efficient functioning of market systems is the motivation of service providers, particularly non-public or third sector charity providers. This feature holds relevance for this study due to privatization or private provision of services being a significant feature of NPM and market-type reforms as identified by Hood (1991); (Falconer 1997); Larbi (1999). As it concerns this research, the proliferation of private universities, particularly in Nigeria and its implications means this section is vital.

Government monopoly providers are justified on the grounds that those who work within them are altruistic and motivated by public service ethos or professional considerations, meaning the primary concerns of the employees are the welfare or interests of their service users (Perry and Hodeghem 2008). For example, the primary concern of healthcare workers should be patient welfare; for educators, it should be student welfare. Le Grand (2006) refers to the individuals who hold these attributes as knights. On the other hand, an argument can be made that employees working in a market-driven and competitive environment are motivated by self and financial interests and are profit-driven. These individuals are not the knights described above but knaves who will exploit every opportunity available to maximise self-interests or profits to themselves at the expense of those they serve (ibid).

Another differentiating position sees self-interest as morally inferior to altruism and sees the replacement of state monopolies in service provision (altruism) with markets (self-interest) causing a reduction in the pool of altruistic behaviour as well as the pool of altruism in society itself, resulting in a less moral society (Le Grand 2011).

Another position which is heavily influenced by Richard Titmuss's (1971) work on blood donation makes the utilitarian argument that a service that is provided based on altruistic behaviour by the service provider as opposed to self-interest has better consequences for the service user. Titmus (1971) argued that financially incentivising blood donations will result in lower quantity and quality of blood supplies because those with infected blood will have reasons to hide their conditions as opposed to a voluntary one where they are incentivised to reveal their situations because they want to help. Those who previously freely donated are also likely to feel that their altruistic actions have been devalued and stop donating. Extending Titmus (1971)'s arguments to service provision will likely result in the "knights" operating within the system believing that their public service ethos has been exploited by the incentives that the market provides. This would result in a change in their motivational structures and the amplification of self-interest, consequently turning knights into knaves (Le Grand 2011). The argument above holds for private proprietors of public services including universities. The change in motivational incentives as a result of changes in structures of service delivery can also result in a situation where employees who would normally question the quality of service being provided no longer have any incentives to do so.

Scholars including (Le Grand 2011) take the position that some of the arguments above are too empirical and that it is possible for varying levels of both self-interest and public service motivation to exist in both market providers and state monopolies.

This section is important, not for motivation types, quality, choice or efficiency but for quantity which based on the scope of this study translates to access. Titmus (1971) suggests that state provision (altruism) is synonymous with higher quantity (access) while market-provision (self-interest) is not. Analysis of university types in Nigeria in chapter 5 will show that there are three types of universities which are; Federal, State (government run which charge increasing fees) and private which charge a premium (Okebukola 2006a). While based on literature, the government-run universities are not the most efficient and do not provide the best quality, from a relative viewpoint, they provide the best prospects for access (ibid). Given that the relationship between marketisation, charges and accessibility are central themes of this thesis, this section is important and contribute to the analytical framework.

2.5. Charges

Due to charges featuring heavily in the scope of this study, a whole chapter (4) is dedicated to it, however, it is briefly discussed here due to its relevance to discussions in this section.

While the analysis of quasi-markets above indicated that some services might require fees where they traditionally did not, Le Grand (2011) indicated that the fees, under ideal quasi-market conditions are still covered by the state. Many developing countries, on the other hand, have a different experience and as already analysed, market-type approaches that involve charges are more likely to result in pure markets where service users are responsible for paying for services that were either traditionally free or subsidised by the state.

Larbi (1999) indicates that charges have been introduced or its use increased in developing nations particularly in education, health and utilities, with aims of sharing costs with users, raising revenue, in order to enhance quality and efficiency of services.

The Sub-Saharan nations that have widespread use of charges are identified by Brock-Utne (2003) and Larbi (1999) as those with greater influence of

international donors. This links some of what has been discussed thus far with a need for extensive discussions on policy transfer in the context of developing countries and this is what chapter 3 focusses on.

User charges have been introduced in many developing countries without suitable safety nets for the poorest in society who are unable to pay (Larbi 1999; Brock-Utne 2003). Introduction and increased use of charges in healthcare in Zambia and Ghana resulted in reductions in utilisation of health facilities in those locations in both rural and urban areas and while urban areas partially recovered, the rural areas did not (Larbi 1999).

This is starkly different from the picture of quasi-markets painted by Le Grand in developed countries (2006; 2007; 2011).

Transferability of NPM

Given discussions thus far, the question needs to be asked, is NPM and market-type reforms transferable from developed to developing countries? Evidence from the literature reviewed so far suggests that it is. Perhaps the more important questions are; are they appropriate for developing countries, given institutional differences between them and developing countries? Or, what are the structures or capabilities that need to be put in place for these policies to work as intended? Questions that also need to be asked of the bodies that advocate these policies include; are they aware of the structural differences between developed and developing countries when they advocate these policies? Finally, the competence of the governments of the developing countries which accept and adopt these policies need to be questioned and they need to be asked if the policies that are being implemented at the local level are appropriate? This study addresses some of these themes from an HE perspective.

While NPM has been extensively discussed thus far because of the significant academic interest it has attracted which is why it has been adopted as a framework for evaluating this research, due to the comparative nature of this study, other concepts which explain some of the reform processes in PA and

service delivery, particularly as it affects developing countries are discussed and justification is provided as to why NPM still offers the best model for evaluating this study.

2.6. The Washington Consensus

Williamson (1990) described ten economic policy prescriptions developed by Washington, D.C. based institutions including the WB and IMF that were standard reform packages promoted for developing countries struggling from the economic crisis in the 1980s and 1990s. These policies emphasized trade liberalisation, economic stability and the expansion of market practices within the local economy to compensate for the withdrawal of the state. The specifics of Williamson's Washington consensus included the following: (a) fiscal policy discipline (b) tax reform (c) privatisation of state agencies (d) property rights security (e) deregulation, abolishing regulations impeding market entry (f) market-determined interest rates (g) trade liberalisation regarding imports (h) subsidy withdrawal (i) Liberalisation of FDI (j) competitive exchange rates which often involved devaluation (Williamson 1990).

Scholars including Stanislaw and Yergin (2002) and Birdsall and De La Torre (2001) and Williamson (2002) posit that these policies were not necessarily developed by Washington based agencies but instead were developed and adopted initially by Southern American countries to address local economic challenges. In the case of Nigeria and most other Sub-Saharan nations, the adoption of these policies was largely externally initiated and adopted as part of SAPs earlier discussed.

Naim (2002) indicates that even Williamson (who coined the term "Washington Consensus") described it as a damaged brand name with critics believing that it signifies a set of "neoliberal (see next section for a discussion on neoliberalism) policies which have been forced on helpless countries by Washington based IFIs which has resulted in misery and crisis.

Williamson (2002) suggested that the basic ideas that informed his consensus were: a market economy, macroeconomic discipline and openness to the World and that these were ideas that OECD countries had adopted, however developing nations at this point benefited from (a) import substitution (b) a prominent role for the state in initiating industrialization and (c) inflation. The Washington consensus was designed to open developing nations up.

Williamson later argued in *“Did the Washington consensus fail (2002)?”* that the reforms failed in Latin America and most countries that adopted the reforms in areas of poverty reduction, growth and employment. It is also suggested that nations should not have adopted the reforms as an ideology and if the reforms were implemented decades later, suggestions should be provided on how to avoid the resulting challenges. Williamson conceded that there was room to criticise the hypocrisy of Western countries that advocate liberalisation on developing countries while upholding trade restrictions on commodities that developing countries export to them or push for intellectual property protection at the World Trade Organisation. It is also indicated that the success of South Asian countries cannot be attributed to the Washington Consensus reforms (ibid).

An evaluation of some of the reforms included in the Washington consensus shows similarities with NPM reforms, however, Williamson’s Washington Consensus has not attracted as much research and interest as NPM. As a result, a framework for analysis involving NPM is adopted.

2.7. Neoliberalism

Another potential concept for evaluation which involves themes that are similar to what has been discussed thus far is neoliberalism and this is discussed below.

Neoliberalism is a theory of economic and political practice that proposes that the well-being of people is best served by freeing individual skills and

entrepreneurial freedoms and skills; it places emphasis on free trade, markets as well as strong private property rights consequently limiting the role of the state to creation and facilitation of environments where the practices described above can thrive (Ochwa-Echel 2013).

Scholars including Sowaribi (2005) and Ochwa-Echel (2013) describe NPM as the neoliberal way of governance. Harvey (2005) in a *“brief history of neoliberalism”* describes it as the doctrine that market exchange is an ethic in itself that can guide all human action. It has become dominant in the past few decades and has resulted in a reconstitution of state powers by diminishing the obligations of the state to intervene and provide for its citizens and instead emphasized features such as privatisation, deregulation and a reliance on market processes. Ochwa-Echel (2013) posits that that one way in which the neoliberal agenda is imposed on society is through the state project of new public management (NPM) which claims that only market-based policies can address society’s social needs.

Neoliberalism offers a market-view of citizenship that is antithetical to rights, particularly to government guaranteed rights in education, health, welfare and other public goods by defining citizens as economic maximisers, driven by self-interest and positions the “consumer citizen” as capable and willing to make market-driven choices. Consequently, under neoliberalism, it is the individual, not the state that is responsible for the individual’s well-being and the state is just an enabler-facilitator of the market led consumer ((ibid).

Under neoliberalism, it is possible to conceive of education as a service that is available to those who choose it and can afford to buy it. This ignores the fact that for many people, particularly in developing economies with undeveloped welfare systems, user choice is a luxury and of secondary value behind affordability and access (Lynch and O’Riordan 1998; Brock-Utne 2003; Ochwa-Echel 2013; Umokoro 2013). Angus (2004) also argues that a neoliberal economic and political model ignores the fact that only the state can

guarantee the right of citizens to education and if the state abdicates this duty, rights are then made contingent on the ability to pay.

Neoliberal economic thoughts have influenced public service delivery methods that have widely been adopted in most countries in the last few decades (Ochwa-Echel 2013; Brock-Utne 2003).

New public management and neo-liberalism are considered relatively global phenomena which have been adopted by most countries as a way of administering public services in the last few decades and the university sector in most countries has also been subjected to NPM in a form of re-evaluation of the relationships between the university, the student and the government (Brock-Utne 2003; Ochwa-Echel 2013).

NPM along with Francis Fukuyama's "end of history" thesis paint a picture of an inevitable homogeneous universality in terms of public administration practices globally and this research attempts to use the university sector as a case study to investigate to what extent Fukuyama's argument is valid within a limited scope. Also considering NPM, as well as marketisation of public service delivery and universities, are policies that have origins in some countries and spread to others through policy transfer or lesson learning, there is an expectation that the originating countries would exhibit more of the features of neoliberalism and NPM than the late adopters. This theme along with vehicles with which these practices spread would also be explored in this research.

As with NPM and the Washington consensus, the concept of neoliberalism involves similar themes, however the robustness of academic engagement with NPM means, it is still the favoured theoretical framework.

What has emerged from discussions so far are that while most countries, developed and developing have introduced reforms in PA and service delivery in the past few decades, the reforms can be considered organic home-grown

reforms in some contexts while in other contexts, they are externally imposed reforms. As Williamson (2002) indicated, there is a perception that some of the reforms have ended in failure for mainly developing countries. The developed countries that promote these reforms as lenders and through their dominance of IFIs are also perceived to be hypocritical because while the reforms they have championed have opened up developed countries as they wanted, the expected benefits to the developing countries have not been forthcoming through practices including protectionism. Nevertheless, market-type reforms have and continue to be promoted and implemented in developing countries. The question this thesis asks and answers using HE is, what the implications of the reforms are for a developed and developing country.

Based on what has been analysed thus far in this chapter, a framework for evaluation is emerging and is presented below.

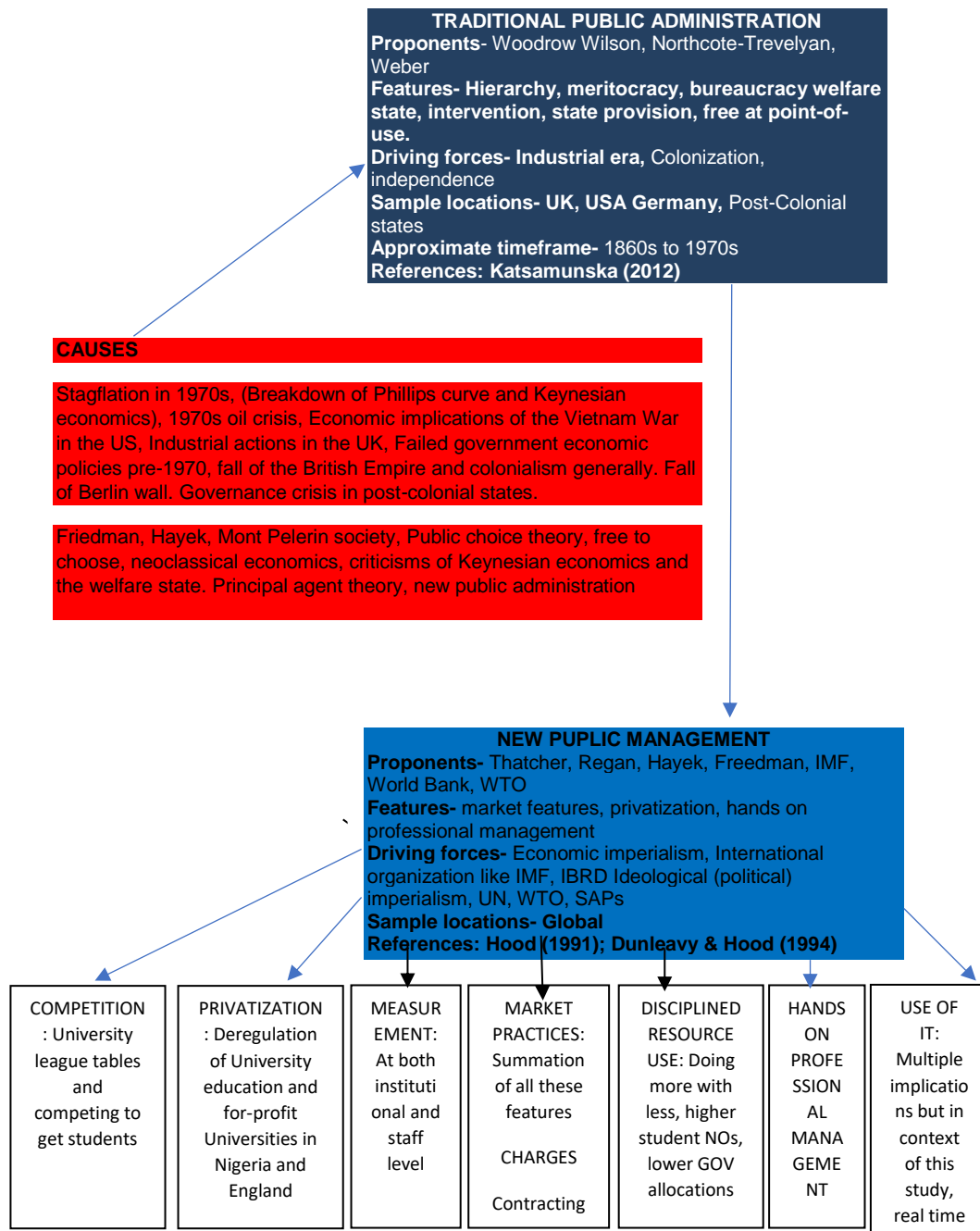


Figure 2.2. Emerging conceptual framework

Source: Developed from literature.

2.8. Summary and discussion

This chapter reviewed PA by analysing developments from the pre-public administration era to the current PA and service delivery system widely adopted by most countries in the present time which NPM which has impacted

HE. Proponents, impacts and criticisms of the different public administration systems that have been practised in the last few decades were also analysed.

The main contention though is, does the market really have all the answers and does it take care of everyone particularly in the context of different socio-economic factors in different parts of the world? That is the question this research aims to answer by examining the effects of the market approach to service delivery characterised by NPM has had on university education and access in different national contexts. Findings presented in chapter 8 and discussed in chapter 9 show that outcomes are different in these two contexts.

Reforms that became known as NPM, neoliberalism, the Washington Consensus, globalisation etc. have been sold (particularly to developing nations) as the one true path to development by developed nations and the IFIs that they dominate, yet scholars including Larbi (1999), Williamson (2002) and Stiglitz (2002) conclude that the reforms have not had the success that was promised in many developing countries and that these reforms cannot be credited to the relative success of South Asian countries. The countries that have benefitted from these reforms tend to be the developed ones according to these scholars. While they have preached openness, trade liberalisation, and currency devaluation, they have been protectionist. The path to development for the developed countries which does not feature in any of the prescriptions analysed in this chapter has not been a market-based economy, but heavy state involvement characterised by the welfare state in most developed countries which are still maintained even in this era of “market-based economies” as well as periodic state intervention in the Keynesian fashion. Yet, developing countries, most of which were newly independent nations which had relative success post-independence but were still in stages of state-building which going by the path to development for most developed countries should be characterised by heavy state involvement in the national economy were convinced that the path to development lies in a market economy.

The next chapter examines the spread of various forms of PA by reviewing the literature on policy transfer, briefly provides a historical overview of Nigeria as well as the mechanisms with which policy decisions are made and implemented in the country to give a reason for university reforms. This is essential because the primary audience for this thesis is likely to have a limited knowledge of Nigeria.

CHAPTER 3

POLICY TRANSFER AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRY CONTEXT: NIGERIA

3.0. Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on policy transfer and analyses how different forms of PA from classic PA to NPM spread from their originating countries to other countries. It highlights the fact that policy transfer could be voluntary, that is; officials from one country actively examining policies in another country and adopting them to solve their own local challenges, or it could be involuntary, that is; the imposition of particular ideologies or policies by some countries or supranational bodies over other countries. Relevant examples being the transfer of classic PA and even university education from colonizing countries to countries being colonised or imposition of austerity or SAPs on countries as pre-conditions of financial relief.

Why is a chapter on policy transfer important and how does it fit in with the rest of the thesis? Chapter 2 focused on developments in PA and service delivery and indicates that these developments are global. This chapter builds on that and provides the theoretical context of how policies and approaches to service delivery and PA which are conceived of in developed countries can still be transferred to or imposed on independent developing countries, despite widespread colonialism in which colonies had no voice in transferred policies being over for a few decades.

Larbi (1999) identified two factors considered as drivers of NPM particularly in the transitional and developing countries which are:

- donor advocacy and lending conditions of IFIs, particularly the WB and IMF (which are dominated by developed countries), with emphasis

placed on adopting pro-private, liberalisation and pro-market approaches in SAPs.

- The proliferation of global markets, particularly those that emphasize financial liberalisation and integration with the resulting competition compelling the public sector in most nations to re-invent, in order to stay in touch with the developing global economy and modern information technology developments.

The drivers above as analysed in chapter 2 meant developing countries had little choice in adopting NPM-type policies and it is the theoretical basis for this that this chapter explores.

The chapter also provides a profile of Nigeria because the primary audience for this study, which is UK-based scholars might be unfamiliar with Nigeria. The factors identified by Larbi (1999) above and other NPM scholars and how they uniquely relate to developing countries of which Nigeria is one also explains why the chapter finishes with a profile of Nigeria and why a similar profile of Scotland is unnecessary.

3.1. Policy transfer

Policy transfer refers to a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is employed in developing policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political setting (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000; Stone 2001). Page (2000) defines policy transfer and lesson drawing as the transposition of practices, and or policies that are already in operation in one jurisdiction to another, it can also mean the transfer of policies across time.

Policy transfer serves as a platform from which evolutions that are changing the role of the state in a continually evolving world can be observed and analysed (Alou 2009). Policy transfer's importance and relevance to this research is that it serves as a tool with which to observe and analyse how various public administrative policies are transferred to other territories and

their implications based the conditions needed to achieve successful or failed policy absorption, some of which will be analysed subsequently. Stone (2001) suggests policy transfer has become an ever more important feature of the contemporary policy-making process because of the increasing pace of change and legislation in recent times than any other time in history. A consequence of these pressures, as a result of growth in legislation, are governments looking at other states as sources of policy ideas, institutional reform and sometimes even detailed legislation. Another expression for “policy transfer” already highlighted above is “lesson drawing” however, Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) suggest this expression is not semantically correct because not all policies that are adopted in other locations are adopted voluntarily. Good examples include the introduction of classic PA from places like the UK to Nigeria during colonialism or the imposition of certain policies as pre-conditions of loans between countries or from organizations like the IMF or the WB to countries. Some of these are discussed in this chapter based on their relevance to this research.

Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) caution that it is difficult to quantify policy transfer particularly if it is voluntary as governments are unlikely to provide data on what, or from where they borrow, and it cannot simply be assumed that because the UK for example hypothetically adopts similar HE policies as Australia then policy transfer has occurred. For policy transfer to have been deemed to have occurred, it needs to be established that policy makers/administrators/politicians in one place were looking for a policy, they travelled to the other place or invited people over from the other location to learn about the policies they are interested in and specific elements of said policies were incorporated into the practice or legislation of the former location (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). A definitive example of this is the adoption of the parliamentary and later presidential systems of government in Nigeria (Okechukwu 2014).

Contrarily, if the policies were involuntarily adopted either as conditions of one country providing logistic, economic support etc. to another country, identification of policy transfer having occurred is easier (ibid).

Page (2000) describes the jurisdiction where policy or lessons are drawn the “exporter” and refers to the location where policies are adopted the “importer”. Rose (1993) cautions that when policies and practices are transferred, there has to be in-depth understanding of conditions under which practices or policies operate in exporter locations and if “these conditions” might make them function in a similar way in the importing location considering the potential political, administrative, socio-economic and cultural differences in the two locations. For example, in hypothetically examining the lessons that can be learned from the Scottish government’s position on the education of females from disadvantaged backgrounds and how this can be applied to Nigeria would require a deep understanding of government funding of education in both countries and barriers to education of females. From a lesson drawing perspective, there is an understanding that modifications might need to be made to policies before they are transferred to importer jurisdictions however this understanding is not explicit in forced policy transfers (ibid).

Variables in policy transfer

Public policy queries usually involve the following questions: The who; the what; the why; the where; and modalities of the actual policy transfer (Page 2000). The “who” refers to the individual or organisation involved in identifying ideas in the exporter jurisdiction and importing some or all of those ideas, simply put, this is the agent or agency of transfer (Rose 1993). Page (2000) posits that “the who” can be an entrepreneur (someone who sources for policies and practices that can be adopted and convinces others to adopt them). The other “who” is a salaried employee, instructed to go to the exporter jurisdiction to copy policy.

While the individual or agency as described above can be important agents of policy transfer, at the other end of the divide lays organisations that influence policies and are involved in their transfer. These include organisations like the WB, IMF, organization for economic cooperation and development (OECD), World Trade Organisation (WTO), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the EU etc. as well as think tanks which influence policies in some policy

exporting jurisdictions. These organisations formulate and adopt “good practice” models which are then prescribed for other countries to adopt (Stein 1994).

The “what” refers to what is being transferred; Rose (1993) categorises this under five specific types of learning including “direct copying”, adaptation, hybrid creation, synthesis and inspiration. Identifying exactly what has been copied and to what extent can be difficult depending on what position on the scale of five above the policy transfer sits; Page (2000) suggests that even in some cases, the external evidence proffered for policy adoption is nothing more than an excuse to validate local policies adopted.

The “when” question refers to the period of the policy transfer, in some cases, a policy might be adopted in the importing country at the same time it is being used in the exporting country or it could be adopted long after it has been used in one location (Stone 2001). There is also the concept of policies being adopted in multiple locations over an extended period ranging from years to decades or even more. A good example of this is market economies after the fall of the Berlin wall in transition states (Page 2000). This raises the questions of the similarities in different locations at a point in time that might potentially have indicated that adoption of policies in one place would be successful in another and changes over time particularly in the importing jurisdiction that might result in the adoption of such policies failing.

The “why” question is the most common and fundamental question in policy transfer literature, why do independent states “borrow” from each other (Page 2000)? The literature on policy transfer from an economic perspective suggests that the answer to this question might not be so straightforward and Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) stress the differences between voluntary policy adoption and coercive policy adoption. While in some cases, policies are indeed copied voluntarily, in other cases particularly developing countries, they are compelled to adopt policies and practices identified as best practices by

developed countries and supranational organization with influence as conditions of receiving grants, loans or debt relief (Brock-Utne 2003). The alternative is what Rose (1993) refers to as “rational shopper” that evaluates a number of options for solutions to local problems, identifies a policy solution in a particular location and adopts it. Page (2000) suggests that the classification of coercive and voluntary policy adoption is not binary because while there might be some coercion, the importing country might also view the policy as a solution to local problems.

The “why” question has multiple dimensions, see Page (2000), but a relevant dimension is; what informs the importer’s choice of where to import from? It could be ideological proximity, socio-economic and cultural similarities or simply a case of repeat policy copying if a previous policy has been successfully implemented (Rose 1993).

Another dimension of the “why” question is not why an importer country is importing a specific policy but why that policy was introduced in the exporting country in the first place, i.e. the objective of introducing the policy because the reasons and aims why it was introduced in the exporter country might yield some results that are undesirable to the importer country (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996).

The “how” question depends on context because when the policy adoption is not voluntary, it can be interchanged with the “why” question. On the other hand, in a voluntary policy transfer process, the “how” question refers to the very many different ways the transfer process was initiated and executed (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996).

Challenges to successful policy implementation include:

- The “pre-conditions that enable the transfer of innovations or policy, that is; what makes people or organisations in one location want to

learn from another? The most common such pre-conditions are crisis and uncertainty.

- Other questions are; to what extent is a policy entrepreneur likely to highlight the potential disadvantages of a policy over its advantages?
- Are policymakers likely to critically evaluate policies adopted from particular countries?
- To what extent are policies adopted under duress or voluntarily fully implemented and successful?
- Are think-tanks which are highly influential pre-disposed to develop distinctive lessons which are one-size fits all approaches?
- Are transferred policies actually followed up on to determine their effectiveness and otherwise to develop lessons for future policy transfers?

Sources: Rose 1993; Dolowitz and Marsh 1996; Page 2000

3.2. Lesson drawing

An ideal scenario of policy transfer is “lesson drawing” in which one country searches for lessons to draw on, models how the policy or practice works in the exporting country, creates a lesson by accessing which aspects or totalities of policies can be extracted from exporting countries to produce results desired in the importing country as well as an evaluation of possible adaptations needed for the policy to work and how it would work (Rose 1993).

The challenges inherent in lesson drawing include:

- Program/policy design variables: In order to successfully transfer policies, the detailed internal design of the policy being transferred in the exporting country must be held and an understanding of if the specific feature exists, can be replicated, imitated or substituted by other features in the importing country.

- Institutional authority structures: Countries have different institutional and constitutional structures and Rose (1993) argues that the most important of these variables is the difference between Unitary and Federal states. While there might still need to be some modifications, it is easier to borrow policies within Unitary states where strong central government authorities can push implementation while borrowing between Unitary and Federal or otherwise needs to be carefully accessed.
- Organisational characteristics: Organisational systems needed to deliver policy in one location might be hard to replicate in another. For example, the absence of organisational structures and a financial market capable of providing student loans for university education in Nigeria means the suggestions of WB (1994) and Ziderman and Albrecht (1995) regarding cost-sharing schemes for universities with students paying deferred tuitions are not feasible in Nigeria. Page (2000) also argues that the general prescription that the private sector should be tasked with delivering public services makes some fundamental assumptions about the private sector (for example, that it comprises organisations professional and large enough to provide those services at costs everyone can afford) which does not reflect the reality in many developing countries.
- Resources and the mix of tools: Resources including time, money authority needed to implement policies have an effect on their success and they might be hard to replicate. Also, the specific tools at the disposal of the exporting country might not be available to the importing country, for example, the welfare state in many developed countries that is not present in many developing ones. This could mean an increase in user charges for services that were formerly free or subsidised is still available to people in developed countries and unavailable to those in developing ones.
- Holistic societal variables: Variances between socio-political, cultural and economic conditions and their presence or absence in the exporter

and importer jurisdictions would have an impact on the effectiveness of policy transfer. For example, educational practices for young boys in Northern Nigeria is incompatible with educational practices anywhere else in Nigeria, let alone most of the World and this nuance needs to be considered. Simply put, devising a single educational policy for the whole of Nigeria is likely to encounter the same problems that transferring policies from the UK into Nigeria likely will.

The way in which all the variables of policy transfer that have been discussed above are managed would affect the success or failure of imported policies. The next section reviews the spread of various public administration systems and contextualises how they were transferred in the context of what has been discussed above.

3.3. The spread of classic public administration

Colonial imperialism by major European countries including the United Kingdom (British Empire) was at its peak in the 19th and early 20th century and what is now classed as public or Weberian administration was transferred to colonised territories as a way of administering the territories (De Gruchy 2010; Abernathy 2000; Okechukwu 2014). Colonisation is a policy or practice by one country of acquiring partial or full political control over another country or territory, occupying it with settlers with the aim of economic exploitation (Okechukwu 2014). Based on the review of policy transfer above, it can be argued that spread of classic public administration to Nigeria constitutes involuntary policy transfer.

The figure below shows countries that were part of the British Empire.

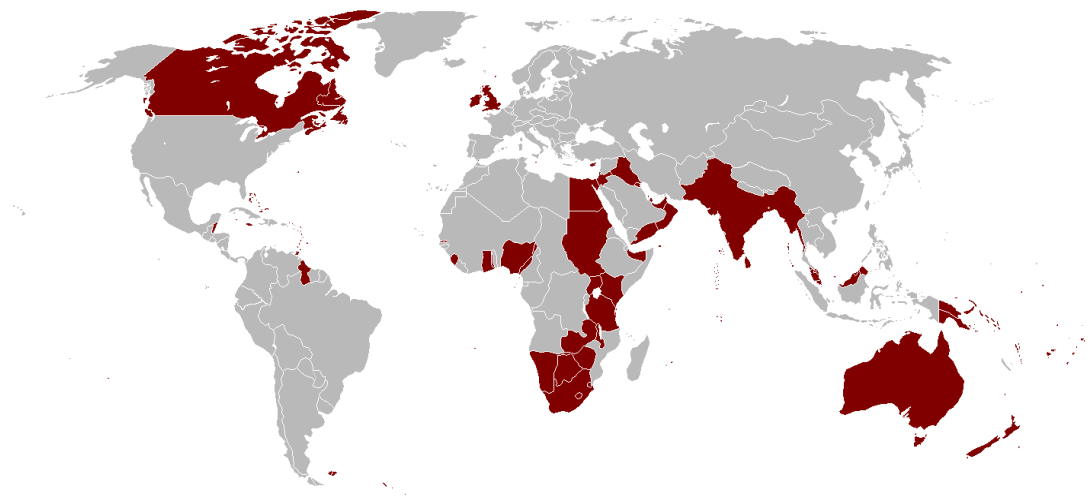


Figure 3.1 British colonies.

Note: Countries highlighted in red were British colonies *USA

Source: Abernathy (2000)

While the USA was a British colony, early independence and its influence in the development of classic public administration are the reasons why it is not highlighted in this map. While most of the rest of the world was colonised by other European powers, this is not relevant for this research as the aim of the figure above is to highlight the role played by colonialism in the export of public administration practice, and also to show historical links between Nigeria and the UK/Scotland which are the focus of this research.

While this system of government (classic public administration) was relatively functional during colonialism, it raised a different set of challenges after independence for most countries including Nigeria because they were not cohesive regions before colonialism but were instead multi-ethnic and multi-religion regions that were politically constructed for economic exploitation (Keller 2007).

De Gruchy (2010) suggests that when most developed countries were going through reforms to improve public service delivery, most former colonies including Nigeria have mostly struggled issues of national identity and cohesion including civil wars and insurgencies.

Despite the criticisms of colonialism, it left lasting legacies in the former colonies, particularly the establishment of universities, introduction of alternative political, legal and administrative systems, opening up of trade etc. (Lovejoy 2012).

Ferguson (2003) in *“how Britain made the modern World”* argued that colonialism was beneficial to the colonies because the British Empire introduced the rule of law (British version), increased trade and democracy through colonialism. Lovejoy (2012) on the other hand posits that effects of colonialism include the spread of virulent diseases, exploitation, enslavement, abolitionism, the creation of new institutions, unequal social relations, the spread of the coloniser’s culture and language sometimes to the detriment of local cultures and languages had negative implications for the colonies.

While European colonial powers surrendered political control over their former colonies, writers including Osaghae (1998) and Keller (2007) suggest they did not surrender economic control. Keller (2007) further argues that the formal trappings of colonialism were replaced by neo-colonialism (use of political, economic, cultural or other pressures to influence and control other territories, commonly former dependencies), in which former colonies remained heavily dependent on foreign private investments and bilateral and multilateral development assistance.

Dunning (2004) argues that development in Africa was not helped by the fact that just after waves of independence on the continent post-World War 2, the cold war broke out and this meant that both parties in the cold war were competing in Africa and much of the Developing World to impose their ideology and gain political support. Since this could no longer be done by force (through colonialism), it was achieved through neo-colonialism and this is subsequently discussed.

From a PA viewpoint, most post-colonial countries adopted the British style of government and PA, however in the case of Nigeria and most African

countries, they have gone through and some are still going through periods of military dictatorships and civil wars which have adversely affected advancements in PA and public service delivery (Hill 2012).

The relevance of this section apart from an analysis of the role played by colonialism in the spread of classical public administration is to also highlight the role played by the promotion of particular ideologies sponsored by governments of particular countries and global organisations dominated by them and how these spread to other countries and implications for functionalities of these policies based on local realities.

Some of the developments discussed above are explored by scholars in the context of neo-colonialism and developmental theories and these are briefly discussed next.

3.4. Neo-colonialism of Postcolonialism and education

Post-colonialism describes a broad school of thought that analyses the significance and effects of colonisation including the hegemony of Western culture and the capitalist exploitation of colonies and former colonies for their resources mainly by European states (Enslin 2017). The colonial era was characterised by administrative control, military occupation, resource plundering, dispossession of land and resettlement and of importance to this study, trade on terms that were favourable to the core.

Along with religion, education was a significant aspect or strategy in colonisation (Kelly and Altbach 1978). During colonialism, indigenous people were educated in a Western fashion to serve the interests of the colonialists (ibid). The single concern of the colonialists was to acquire wealth from the colonies to be used in Europe. Fanon (1965, p. 51) observes that “*The colonies have become a market and their population are customers ready to buy goods*”. While most former colonies achieved political independence after WW2, subsequent globalisation has intensified interactions between the former colonies (periphery) and the metropole (core).

Ahmad (1992) argues that there appears to be, in both the subdisciplines of the developing world literature and Colonial Discourse Analysis, far greater interest in the colonialism of the past than in the imperialism of the present. Fanon (1965) in analysing decolonisation highlights the role played by an emerging educated indigenous middle class (educated bourgeoisie) which he argued would be content to adopt the role of business agent for the West, supporting ethnic interests, accumulating wealth, acting like former colonisers and complicit in neo-colonialism.

While there are many schools of thought on postcolonialism and its relationship with education, usually from a pedagogical viewpoint, of relevance to this study is education and its provision in the global market economy of the 21st century and its implications for cross-country trade between developed and developing countries.

Fanon (1963:100) in *"The Wretched of the Earth"* wrote that "centuries will be needed to humanize this world which has been forced down to animal level by imperial powers". Fanon further stressed that "colonialism and imperialism have not paid their score when they withdraw their flags and police forces from our territories; decolonisation is an ongoing and necessarily violent process which involves a constant vigilance to recurring colonial threats (1963:101)".

Huggan (1997) argues that we live in neo-colonial times and not postcolonial times despite postcolonialism achieving widespread currency in academia. Favoured nation treaties and powerful trade blocs formed by some of the most powerful nations in the world which reinforces economic divides; internecine struggles tacitly supported by former colonial powers; corruption; sponsor of autocratic regimes in the developing world; global hegemonies exercised by companies based in developed countries; continued military interventions by the USA and Europe in the developing world and SAPs (which are of particular relevance to this study) are some of the justifications provided by Huggan (1997) for his assertion that we live in neo-colonial times and not post-colonial times.

Post-colonial provision of education in a Globalised World

While arguments can be made for dating globalisation to the colonial era or even earlier, features and characteristics in the context of accelerated global integration which occurred in the late 20th century locates it is the period after decolonisation (Enslin 2017). Characteristic features of globalisation include transnational cultural, political and economic interconnectedness which manifests in the movement of people, goods and capital (ibid). The interactions between former colonisers and the colonies have intensified with increasing globalisation and through improvements in communication facilitated by advancements in IT. These developments have had implications for local activities including economic and educational which are increasingly influenced, and in some cases provided in non-traditional manners and by non-local sources. Corporations wielding immense power are no longer limited to their bases in the West but now have a global reach and control. Enslin (2017) describes neoliberal influencers as a new form of Empire which is less visible, is globally dispersed and is no longer solely dominated by the West.

The multifaceted relationship between globalisation and post-colonialism has significant implications for education (Brock-Utne 2003). Education remained within colonial power structures post-colonisation due to curriculum, knowledge, pedagogy etc. being dominated by neoliberal conceptions of knowledge. Critics of this order to education argue that the spread of global systems and policies that characterise globalisation undermines the autonomy of education systems within nation states by drawing them into the demands of the global economy while consequently separating them from local control and needs. Educational systems at the national level in many developing countries have been dominated by supranational bodies including IFIs in the past few decades through SAPs with emphasis competition and on reduced state involvement, which is attributed to devastating implications for education and other negative outcomes (ibid). Huddart (2004) argues that the dominance of English language and other competitive drives including international ranking favour core countries in contests that nations with educational systems

that are less well funded cannot win and should be recognised as a recolonisation of education.

Some of these developments have resulted in people moving from some of the poorest countries in the world to some of the richest countries in the world to access university education. This sees significant resources including economic and personnel moving from former colonies to colonising countries in a manner reminiscent of colonialism.

To properly theoretically conceptualise the phenomenon described above, developmental theories with emphasis on dependency theory are discussed next.

Development

Development studies emerged after the Second World War and were focused on schemes to make the poorest countries achieve economic development that would make them level with the richer nations. Some of the poorest countries also happened to be former colonial territories. In the everyday speech, both in intellectual and non-intellectual environments, poorer countries are referred to as developing, underdeveloped, backward, emerging nations, backward nations etc. (Greig et al., 2007). These descriptions denote a sense of them and use; those who have achieved modernity and progress and those who need assistance (Power 2003). Coincidentally, Colonialism was presented as “the extension of civilisation” and ideologically justified the self-ascribed racial and cultural superiority of Europe over most the rest of the World (Enslin 2017).

Briefly reviewed below are major development theories which have influenced the “path” of development in Sub-Saharan Africa post-colonialism.

Modernisation theory

Nhema and Zinyama (2016) defined modernisation as “the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to

more developed societies”. Modernisation had four steps or tenets and are described below.

- The first step encompasses a break in the chains of traditional society and a move towards an enlightened modernity in which the individual assumes control of their physical and social environment through an increasing appreciation of science and higher levels of material influence.
- Modernisation or development is considered in the historic model of the modernisation of the West. This acts as a successful prototype that the poorer nations can imitate.
- While prototype to be emulated is considered to have modernised endogenously, modernisation could be catalysed in the poorer nations through exogenous help from the “modern” nations.
- Examine the structures that helped modernised the modern nations and highlight where they might be lacking in the poorer nations.

Sources: Greig et al., (2007) and Nhema and Zinyama (2016)

The post-Second World War modernisation movement occurred in the Cold War era and many developing nations were caught between the geopolitical and ideological struggle which at times distracted from the fundamental tasks of institutional and economic development (Greig et al., 2007). This distinction is important because some theorists of modernisation contend that “communism” which was one half of the Cold War socio-political and ideological battlefield was a “virus” that was attracted to some of the challenges that “developed countries” (mixed and capitalist Western nations which were the other half of the cold war) had to confront on their path to development (Nhema and Zinyama 2016). Consequently, the argument is made that poorer countries had to follow the path of the Western countries to develop. The position that developing nations had to adopt values that “modernised” nations found consistent with modernity prompted Greig et al., (2007: 79) to conclude that modernisation involves a process of global homogenisation. This

resonates with Francis Fukuyama's *"End of History"* which was discussed in chapter 2, as well as the contemporary view of NPM or marketisation reforms being universal as indicated by Hood (1991) titling his seminal paper of the reforms as "A New Public Management for all seasons". This can even serve to justify Huggan (1997)'s position of an enduring neo-colonialism.

It is worth noting that Nhema and Zinyama (2016) indicate that under modernisation, the relationship between poor and rich nations are understood to be reciprocal and beneficial. This position again resonates with the justification for SAPs, trade liberalisation and neoliberalism which is prosperity for all.

Criticisms of modernisation come from many angles. Pieterse (2004) sees modernisation being construed with Westernisation and as an ideological screen for post-war neo-colonial dominance or instrument of imperialism.

Other critics argue that modernisation does not deal with the power dynamics between developed and developing countries and that the path from tradition to modernity is not as straight-forward as modernisation theorists argue (Nhema and Zinyama 2016).

Dependency theory which came about due to some of the perceived shortcomings of modernisation is discussed next.

Dependency theory

Drawing from the idea of unequal power relations between developed and developing countries which was discussed above, Prebisch (1971) describes the developed countries as "the core" and the developing countries as "the periphery". In opposition to modernisation, development under dependency theory is considered from the impact the core has on the periphery.

Dependency theory considers capitalism as a global system contextualised by a "metropolis-satellite" concept and this determines the development potentials of countries (ibid). Developmental possibilities are determined by the relationship of exploitation that exists between periphery and core.

Dependency theory locates dynamics for exploitation in the transfer of the periphery's resources to the core through processes of uneven exchange on the global market (Emmanuel 1972). Consequently, developed countries accumulate resources for development through the exploitation of the developing ones, resulting in underdevelopment.

This development is characterised by developments through most of the 20th century in which conditions of trade moved against raw materials, primarily produced by poor countries to favour finished goods, primarily from rich countries (ibid). Supra-national alliances like the EU, including the dominance of supranational bodies like IFIs by richer countries, further exacerbates the inequality and widening power dynamics.

The position of most dependency theorists is that developed country experiences cannot serve as a model to follow, it is development in the core which nurtures underdevelopment in the periphery.

Dependency theory is often criticised of viewing the global economy as a zero-sum game in which gains at the core is made at the expense of the periphery (Hoogvelt (1997). Dependency theory has also been critiqued for failing to properly justify capitalist successes in some periphery nations, particularly in South Asia in which exogenous links to core capitalism, particularly the USA did not result in the periphery underdevelopment witnessed in mainly Sub-Saharan Africa (Nhema and Zinyama 2016).

Another criticism of dependency theory is that imperialism (as it concerns independent states) is considered the main cause of underdevelopment, with the periphery (developing nations), considered passive respondents to external forces which restricts options for manoeuvre (ibid). In this case, the poor nations are denied agency and a scope for "victim mentality" emerges which finds fault with everyone but oneself (Landes 2002).

Both modernisation and dependency have obvious imperfections as highlighted above however, it is vital to note as the review above indicates that

both theories assign a significant role in the struggle for development to coordinated assistance from external parties. Some scholars suggest that the path to development might lie in the developing countries abandoning the belief that external aid, help, models etc. can be useful to them on the path to development (Nhema and Zinyama 2016).

In the context of the discussions here, relevant themes are briefly discussed.

Market-based development and neoliberalism

While previous approaches for development could be considered suggestive in their promotion by their advocates, the 1980s saw the promotion of market-based approach to development by the USA and the UK as the only path to development. Former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher made the proclamation that there is no alternative but to follow her monetarist reform path in what came to be known as the TINA principle (Berlinski 2011).

The major position within the neoliberal framework contends that poor allocation of resources due to incorrect pricing policies and too much intervention by the governments of developing nations is what causes underdevelopment (Nhema and Zinyama 2016). Therefore, neoliberalism's promoters make the arguments that the promotion of free trade, free markets and deregulation in service delivery including HE will stimulate the economy and bring developments (ibid). In a departure from positions within dependency theory, neoliberals advocate the promotion of free markets which the government enables by allowing the "invisible hand" and "magic of the marketplace" to determine the allocation of resources and stimulate development (Taylor 1997). Advocates provide examples from the success of nations like Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan as environments in which the "free market" has stimulated development and highlight examples in South America and Africa as places in which public intervention has failed (Nhema and Zinyama 2016; Taylor 1997).

The World Bank and IMF were advocates and supporters of neoliberalism and free-market policies. Dependency theorists including Wachtel (1986) opine that the IFIs further reinforced the exploitation of the developing countries by the developed countries. Debt was fuelled by the unequal exchange which resulted in vicious repayment cycles, increased debt burdens and trade challenges. Attempts made by the IFIs to ensure repayment included the restructuring of the economies of the poor countries in ways that emphasised liberalisation and increased openness to foreign trade (ibid). In the context of this study, this paved the way for foreign investments including universities and the exchange of students, which findings in chapters 7 and 8 shows is largely one way (students moving from developing to developed nations).

The mechanisms through which the IFIs made the poor developing nations compliant was through the withholding of future financial relief until the suggested policy prescriptions had been implemented (Nhema and Zinyama 2016). The policies were supposed to generate sustainable growth that would provide a framework for future development. As already discussed in chapter 2, the policies advocated by the IFIs from the 1980s onwards was (SAPs) which emphasised liberalisation of trade, deregulation of the economies and lower public spending in many poor countries (Larbi 1999). Again, as the findings will show, implications were reduced funding for HE and the introduction of alternative means of service provision. Some developmental scholars including (Nhema and Zinyama 2016) argue that these reforms halted state-led development in poorer countries.

The SAP reforms were presented as the only route to development and modernity that had to be followed everywhere (Larbi 1999; Ochwa-Echel 2013). This does not consider that most developed or richer nations had up until the late 1970s and early 1980s had a state-led approach to development highlighted by relatively big welfare systems and state interventions as analysed in chapter 2 and had only adopted market-based policies when state intervention appeared to fail, and actions taken previously did not work. The

caveat here in comparing developed and developing countries is that liberalisation or deregulation policies in developed nations were complimentary to state-led development up until this point, with emphasis to the welfare system and interventionist approach. The welfare systems were not abandoned with the introduction of market-type reforms and at an individual level, the state would in many cases still intervene when it appears that a resident would be disenfranchised from accessing a service due to liberalisation or marketisation of a service. Examples of this are loans and grants systems in many developed nations to support individuals of varying socio-economic statuses who want to access HE.

Many developing countries on the other hand never got to the point of developing welfare systems or institutional features which would enable them to intervene at an individual level if an individual could be disenfranchised as a result of economic liberalisation reforms and marketisation of service delivery (Umokoro 2013).

The relationship between developing nations and developed ones including the IFIs they dominate was described by Sachs (2005:81) as “*Be like us (or what we imagine ourselves to be- fiscally responsible, entrepreneurial and free-market oriented), and your countries too can enjoy the benefits of private sector-led economic development*”. Accessing the outcome of these reforms depends on who is doing the assessment. While (IMF 1998) acknowledged some mistakes, the prescriptions are still held up as the best option for developing countries in areas of poverty alleviation, development and the only way for poor nations to catch up with richer nations (Williamson 2002). The supposed failures of the reforms were also attributed to the inability or unwillingness of poorer nations to fully implement the reform agenda.

While there were significant differences between rich and poorer nations before the 1980s and the reforms, a new dimension of debt peonage was added to it after the reforms which meant that richer countries which dominated IFIs and were net lenders had some control over poorer ones, which was

actualised through conditionalities, market discipline and demands for good governance (Hoogvelt 1997; Nhema and Zinyama 2016).

Since the 1990s however, the rhetoric from the IFIs and net lenders has shifted in what can be considered a post-Washington Consensus approach that acknowledges the need for state action alongside market forces (Nhema and Zinyama 2016). This has led to some easement of the one-size fits all approach and attempts to ensure that reforms are owned by both the IFIs and target nations.

Having discussed the theories that have framed developmental discussions since the Second World War, the next section briefly discusses the Sub-Saharan experience.

Sub-Saharan Africa developmental experience: Implications for HE

After independence by many African nations in the 1960s, the political class in most of the newly independent states aimed for quick economic growth in the mould of reconstruction and redevelopment that had occurred in post-War Japan and Germany which had been facilitated by Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan was a USA led initiative designed to aid mainly European nations affected by the war, in which the USA provided economic help (Hoogvelt 1997). This was a monetarist approach that fits the modernisation theory earlier discussed and this was the approach most newly independent African states aimed to imitate with aid flows expected from the West (ibid).

Administrative approach

The newly independent nations adopted what Tuner and Hulme (1997) call developmental administration (DA), which recruited Western experts to assist with setting up and operating the bureaucratic organisation, providing technical assistance and training. DA functioned on the assumption that the major obstacle to economic development was not economic but administrative hence, bureaucratic systems in use in the developed world could facilitate

socio-economic development in the new states (ibid). Elements of DA were the same as that of Weberian PA extensively discussed in chapter 2. While marginal progress was made with the adoption of the approach described above through state building, the financial crisis in the 1970s halted the progress and called for a new approach which was actualised through SAPs. Amin (1976) described the era of dependency that followed by grouping African economies into plantation economies, labour reserve economies and colonial trade economies, highlighting the unequal relationship between the periphery and the centre. Amin (1976) further emphasises that African nations need to break links to the World capitalist economy to develop. Approaches to developing collective self-reliance including the Lagos Plan of Action, Final Act Lagos in 1980 by African heads of State failed to be actualised (ibid).

While dependency theory lays the blame for most of Africa's challenges of external factors and absolves local actors, the role of successive leaders in the underdevelopment of the continent as highlighted by Fanon (1965)'s description of the indigenous educated bourgeoisie and subsequently, Alou (2009)'s rise of indigenous technocrats with IFI relationships needs to be acknowledged.

Nevertheless, SAPs in the 1980s and onwards further exacerbated developmental challenges on the continent as analysed in chapter 2, with its emphasis on a reduction in government spending and trade liberalisation, currency devaluation, wage restraints, decontrol of prices (Larbi 1999). Austerity during adjustments in economic policy in places where social safety (welfare systems) do not exist for vulnerable individuals has resulted in social and political instability (Umokoro 2013). SAPs significantly eroded the ability of many African nations to provide basic services in education, health and infrastructure. While SAPs were promoted because they were supposed to usher in sustained economic growth, Chossudovsky (1997: 37) described them as economic genocide reforms implemented through deliberate and conscious manipulation of market forces.

A brief history of Nigeria is reviewed next. The rationale for this is that while this is a comparative study of Nigeria and Scotland, the Primary audience is British and as data collection revealed, the knowledge of Nigeria held by participants who were mostly academics was limited. As the literature shows and primary data will show, the central questions of this research which are; the use of user charges and implications for access in the wider context of marketisation as well as external policy imposition indicate that all these issues are mainly relevant for Nigeria. In these contexts, an extensive contextual background of Nigeria is provided while similar information is only provided for Scotland where relevant.

3.5. Nigeria: Political and administrative profile

Most academic literature that has and will be reviewed are mostly focused on developed economies of which Scotland is one and the reason for this is there is more relevant peer-reviewed literature for developed economies. PA, as it is practised in most parts of the World has also developed in the context of developed economies, so it is practical to review literature in this context. This, however, is a comparative research between Nigeria and Scotland, so a brief political and administrative profile of Nigeria is imperative for these reasons, and also because the primary audience for the research might not be familiar with Nigeria.

A brief history of Nigeria

Nigeria was formed with the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914 by the British colonial rulers though administratively, the country remained divided into Southern and Northern protectorates and the Colony of Lagos (Garba 2012). Nigeria, in common with most colonised territories that were not unified political territories before colonisation was created for administrative purposes to enable economic exploitation with little regard for the linguistic, ethnic and religious differences of the various groups that make up Nigeria (Laitin 1986; Keller 2007). There are over 300 different ethnic groups in Nigeria, most with their local languages but the three major

tribes are the Hausa in the North, Igbo in the South-South and Yoruba in the South-West (Ejiogu 2013). Under the British Empire's rule, educational institutions and Christian missions were established in the coastal Southern part of Nigeria while the landlocked Muslim North was governed indirectly (indirect rule) through traditional rulers (Garba 2012). Laitin (1986) and Garba (2012) suggest that the implications of this practice were that by independence and even today, educational and economic imbalances between the North and south are significant, though Hill (2012) suggests that there have been improvements in bridging this gap.

Independence and political history

Nigeria gained independence in 1960 and adopted a British style political and administrative system (Hill 2012). It is important to note that even at independence; the three major political parties were from each of the regions respectively and this is still a common feature of Nigerian politics (Osaghae 1998). Post-independence, there has been about 30 years of military rule resulting from multiple coups d'état. However, since 1999 there has been democratically elected governments which have changed every four years (Brown 2013). The year 2015 saw the first cross-party change of government since 1999 though it is important to note that most politicians from the party in power from 1999 till 2015 moved to the new party before and after elections for this to happen (Egwemi 2015). While in many developed countries, political parties are separated by their ideologies, for example, left, right and centre parties, in Nigeria, parties are usually separated on a regional ethnic basis and sometimes even on religious ones (Omotola 2009; Joseph 1978).

The various groups that made up Nigeria were mostly agricultural communities, however, the discovery of oil changed Nigeria to an oil-based economy and as at 1988 oil accounted for 87% of export receipts and 77% of government revenue, a trend which continues today (Omotola 2009).

The dependence on oil revenue meant that Nigeria was significantly impacted by the oil shocks and economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s which resulted in the country seeking financial assistance and debt restructuring from external donors. As discussed in chapter 2, this resulted in conditions which included reforms to the public sector and service delivery in line with concepts which Hood (1991) called NPM and Williamson (2002) termed the Washington Consensus. In the context of Nigeria and most sub-Saharan nations, the name was given to the reform prescriptions which was discussed in chapter 2, section 4 was SAPs.

In the 1980s Nigeria adopted some measures which included privatisation, reduced government expenditures and market prices through its SAP which was as a result of recommendations from the IFIs and creditor countries as conditions of loans and debt restructuring (Keller 2007; Okechukwu 2014). Nigeria is presently administratively divided into 36 states (states have some level of autonomy) and a federal capital territory, Nigeria operates a mixed economy. Nigeria has no centralized welfare system (Umokoro 2013; Okechukwu 2014).

3.6. Transfer of NPM to the developing world: Emphasis on Nigeria

As indicated in the review on policy transfer, while governments are unlikely to provide a list of policies which were copied from other nations, there are various indicators that can highlight policy change in Nigeria and by extension most sub-Saharan countries in the last few decades.

Again, as highlighted in the review on policy transfer, one of the major rationales why importer States adopt external policies is as a result of economic crisis, and this was the situation in Nigeria in the 1970s and 1980s (Larbi 1999; Williamson 2002). Nigeria and most other newly independent countries embarked on development and institutionalisation of the state in the years after independence, enabled by newly tapped natural resources and the revenues that came with that however, the far-reaching crisis of the 1970s

mostly as a result of the oil shocks resulted in a re-evaluation of the developmental models which had up until that point guided governmental action in Nigeria and most of Africa (Alou 2009). The resulting re-evaluation resulted in the state grounded orientations of the new African states being questioned and public sector and service reforms were propounded as the way out of the crisis and this resulted in tenets made fashionable by the Washington consensus or NPM being adopted (Alou 2009).

The crisis resulted in a situation where development in the troubled states had to be partly financed by international aid and along with the aid, these countries were also compelled to adopt new recipes as pre-conditions for aid packages (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). Policy transfer under various other designations is relatively commonplace in developing countries including Nigeria in a context of cooperation with the developed world and this has to be viewed in recognition of the fact that a significant proportion of policies adopted by developing countries develop outside them (Alou 2009). For example, during the cold war, policies that shaped the development of developing countries depended on the ideological stance of the side with which the developing nation aligned (Keller 2007). For example, in Ghana, under Nkrumah, it was the USSR, while Nigeria has consistently been pro-Western (ibid).

Economic policy transfer: The role of international financial institutions (IFIs) in initiating structural adjustment programs

As a result of the financial crisis in Nigeria and many other countries in the 1970s and 1980s, the IFIs proffered SAPs as solutions to the inefficiencies of the economies of the struggling states (Williamson 1990; Larbi 1999). WB publications in the late including WB (1989) took the position that a fundamental reordering along neoliberal lines was required to transform African economies and render them more competitive. The policies suggested and introduced focused on macroeconomic balance and required the governments to adjust expenditures to resources they were able to secure. This implied that state organisation and funding had to be reduced and a

redefinition of the state's role in countries where the role and capabilities of the market might have been overestimated (Larbi 1999; Sowaribi 2005). The rationale was that these measures had shown signs of being successful in other places including South-East Asia and Latin America which was also classed as developing (Larbi 1999; Alou 2009). These structural adjustment measures were the conditions under which they were able to secure aid funds then and are still a major driver of economic activity in Africa as they form part of the performance criteria for eligibility to various international financing schemes (Obi 1991; Brock-Utne 2003).

While SAPs are usually presented as nationally conceived policies independently devised by local governments, the programs are best analysed as policies transferred from the IFIs (IBRD and IMF) after multiple negotiations and implemented as solutions for African economies (Williamson 1990; 2002; Larbi 1999).

Ochwa-Echel (2013) argues that the SAPs were devised as a result of a misguided characterisation of some developing countries as socialist and at the time, the twin forces of the cold war and the perception that socialism with the large economic role the state performed was inefficient. This did not consider the fact that many developing countries were newly independent and had adopted these policies for various reasons as well as the fact that they adopted similar practices as European colonising states which up to the 1980s favoured large state roles.

It is argued that SAPs which continually emphasized benefits of deregulated markets for all economies and their proponents lacked the needed understanding of how particular markets functioned and how diverse culture and habits of thought condition African markets to function differently from Western markets (Brock-Utne 2003). A former WB President also commented that the bank did not adequately consider the presence of basic institutional infrastructure without which a market-based economy cannot function which resulted in the bank being constantly surprised when people do not respond to incentives in expected ways, when knowledge of local

structures would have revealed that responses were consistent with habits and cultures at a local level (Heidhues and Obare 2011).

Political model transfer: Liberal democracy

The first generation structural adjustment schemes were in an authoritarian rule context as Nigeria and most other African countries were under military rule, however, the second set of programs were rolled out at around the same time as the fall of the Berlin wall and the break-up of the Soviet Union (Alou 2009). This meant the argument shifted from that of the dual competing ideologies to a single ideology and the demands for democracy from Africans aligned with the agenda, the result on an international level was that the rule of law and representative democracy were presented as conditions of international aid and with no other offers on the table African regimes including Nigeria began to democratise (Obi 1991).

The democratic model became the channel for policy transfer and some aid agencies included the model as a condition for aid (Alou 2009). (Ochwa-Echel 2013) suggest that there was an alignment between aspirations of a significant portion of the population in most African states including Nigeria and the democratic demands of the external actors and the transfer of this particular policy can be legitimised by social demand. This theme was reviewed in chapter 2, as social drivers of NPM reforms.

Displacement of local governments as local decision centres in economic matters

As a result of the dynamics of policy transfer that has been discussed above and the power dynamics in play, the policies imported through the IFIs are perceived to have stripped states of their economic authority (Brock-Utne 2003; Alou 2009; Ochwa-Echel 2013). Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) posit that economic planning decisions that should be made locally to address local concerns are now the preserve of IFI officials based in Washington and despite a neutral tone in official discourse, these individuals are full actors in local economic and political life. Sitting governments cite the IFIs to demonstrate

their competence while political opponents cite deference of sitting governments to the IFIs to question the competence of the sitting governments (Alou 2009). On the other hand, local sitting governments have little choice because to lack of adherence to IFI dictates will result in lack of external funds needed to drive national development while adherence to the dictates of external actors sees local governments ridiculed at home and provides ammunition for the competition (Obi 1991). The recent challenges of countries in Southern Europe particularly Greece that has resulted in changes in government provide evidence for these assertions (Arghyrou and Tsoukalas 2011). The implications of this are discussed next.

The end of politics

Alou (2009) suggests that while the objective of political struggle is the implementation of campaign and party promises, the political elite are perceived to have abdicated their responsibilities by appearing to have ceded the necessary combat surrounding policy options to supranational bodies by not adequately querying policies they meet when they assume political power or policies suggested to them in power. Politicians are simply happy to look at existing policies, changing little and instead manage the social reaction that their rubber-stamping of existing policies could result in. Alou (2009) further argues that in the Francophone nations of sub-Saharan Africa, regional integration (divestment of significant aspects of sovereignty) coupled with state divestment in the economic domain has resulted in external dependence not seen since just after decolonisation with France playing a significant role in local affairs.

The rise of economic technocracy and ascendance of experts

Instead of local politicians formulating local policies to address local needs and charting their own courses by formulating the developmental aims they hope to achieve, these duties have been ceded to a new cadre of experts both internal and external (Alou 2009). Periodic reports produced by IFIs and their sets of experts have become major sources of national policies in most states

and statistics with which states benchmark their developmental projects (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000).

The new sets of politicians in most African states occupy the highest positions including presidencies and positions as finance ministers are individuals whose skills are not derived from classic political militancy within political organisations but instead individuals that have spent parts of their careers in international financial circles. Examples include former and current finance and economic development ministers in Nigeria, former Presidents and Prime ministers in Benin, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Niger etc (Alou 2009). These “expert” actors assume jobs in the international arena after their political careers thereby forming cyclical career paths (ibid).

Emerging dynamics in policy implementation with a focus on developing states

For large parts of the 20th century, the state was a central player in policy formulation and international relations through the ideas of national independence and sovereignty and this can be attributed to significant local development of countries as we know it (Larbi 1999). State development was in part catalysed by Keynesian economics and at independence, this was the main ethos Nigeria and most African countries followed. Policy formulation mainly rested in local hands and significant developmental strides were achieved on this basis, however, in the contemporary world of reform, it can be argued that the state has been demoted as the main provider of public policies and instead replaced with external funding partners that fund states through developmental operations (Batley 1999; Larbi 1999; Brock-Utne 2003; Alou 2009).

3.7. Evidence of NPM-type reforms from Nigeria: SAPs

After independence, Nigeria like many developing countries developed a large public sector that fully, and in most cases monopolised areas of economic activities like energy exploration and production, banking and insurance, natural resource mills including paper, steel, coal, tourism, mass

transportation, tertiary education, primary healthcare etc. (Zayyad 2000). All these aspects of national life were largely funded by the state and there was very little private sector activity, however, the oil crisis of the 1970s and series of events analysed in sections above and in chapter 2. resulted in a reorganisation of national economic policy, the public sector and approaches to service delivery.

Nigeria's trade arrears in 1983 amounted to over N4 billion naira and under the democratic regime of Shehu Shagari, Nigeria applied to the IMF for a loan facility of USD\$2.3 billion (Anyanwu 1992). Over a dozen conditions were made by the IMF as conditions the loan which included devaluation of the Naira which at the time was on par with the USD, trade liberalization, removal of petroleum subsidy, cut in state expenditure, privatisation and commercialisation of public enterprises etc. Negotiations dragged on from the Shagari regime through Buhari's short military regime to Babangida's military government (Ogundipe 1985). The issue of the loan was put to public debate and rejected, however, certain elements in the conditions presented by the IMF were introduced in the economic recovery program (SAP) introduced by the Babangida administration in July 1986 which included the elimination of price controls, devaluation of the naira etc.

Objectives of the SAP included:

- Restructuring and diversification of the economy's productive base
- Achievement of fiscal stability and a positive balance of payment
- Setting a basis for sustainable non-inflationary or minimal inflationary growth
- Reduction of the dominance of unproductive investments in the public sector.

Source: Anyanwu (1992)

While the initial loan was rejected based on public opinion, the new direction Nigeria took with the SAP resulted in refinancing and rescheduling agreements on existing facilities being signed with the Paris club as well as new external

loans being secured, including US\$425m from the World Bank and a US\$780m standby loan facility with the IMF (Anyanwu 1992). Anyanwu (1992) argues that such loans negate aims of reducing or eliminating external debt create fiscal irresponsibility resulting in high inflation. These policies resulted in external debt rising in the period 1986 to 1989 by over 500% with inflation rising to over 49% by 1989 causing a loss in real wages of employees that have not been reversed. The British pound now exchanges for around N500 when the currencies were equal in the 1980s. The US Dollar has seen a similar change while real wages in Nigeria has only changed by a fraction.

Some of the effects of trade liberalisation and fall in the value of the naira include exportation of goods that were in short supply locally thereby creating scarcity and inflation as well as brain drain since more money in real terms could be earned by professionals working abroad (Nwagbara 2011).

As part of SAP, the central bank of Nigeria in July 1987 deregulated interest rates and totally abolished it in August of the same year and instead allowed it to be determined by supply and demand (Ogbimi 1996). The outcome of this was banks pushing lending rates to over 40% thereby starving small-scale business owners and farmers that were supposed to diversify the economy from oil dependency of the funds needed to operate which resulted in the closure of numerous businesses (Ogbimi 1996).

3.8. Privatisation and commercialisation in Nigeria

Commercialisation and privatisation of formerly public enterprises started in Nigeria commenced with the Decree No. 25 of 1988 (Zayyad 2000). Commercialisation refers to a reorganisation of enterprises partially or wholly owned by the Federal government into enterprises that operate as profit-making commercial ventures and without government subventions while privatisation is the relinquishment of all or part of the equity and concerned interests a government holds in its enterprises (Dyhouse 2007; El Rufai 2012). Both commercialisation and privatisation often involve the use of user charges and cost recovery (Asato 2006; Brown 2011a).

Immediate outcomes of commercialisation of electricity involved a 400% tariff hike while for telecommunications it involved a tariff hike of 900% (Anyanwu 1992).

Entities privatised in the early 1990s include development and commercial banks, oil companies, steel mills, air and sea travels, motor assembly plants, fertilizer plants, paper mills, cement companies, sugar companies, textile companies, food and beverage companies, agri-business, insurance companies, construction companies etc some of which have gone out of business (Zayyad 2000). Subsequent regimes have proceeded with privatization, commercialisation and deregulation of sectors including oil, electricity, telecommunication and university education (Oyebade 2005).

Some of the arguments for privatisation policies include perceptions that privately held firms are more efficiently run, diversification of share ownership into private hands, deregulation and removal of political interference, the perception that increased competition would improve service etc. (El Rufai 2012). On the other hand, critics of privatisation in Nigeria argue that the outcome of privatisation and deregulation has been mixed at best, not all privately held public service delivery firms are efficient. Despite privatisation of electricity generation and distribution for example, while prices have grown exponentially, service has hardly improved; increase in tariffs for most services also means, most citizens are unable to access basic services because of their inability to pay for them. Another argument is that on occasions, the government has had to bail out privately held firms as a result of their inefficiencies, why not keep them under state control in the first place (Okechukwu 2014).

3.9. Developments since the return of democracy in 1999

In 1985, Nigeria's external debts stood at \$19B and since then, it paid lenders over \$35B while taking on new debts of less than \$15B, yet in the year ending 2004, its debts stood at \$36B as a result of compound interests (Rieffel 2005). While the country's commercial creditors had agreed to restructure Nigeria's debt in 1992, for political reasons, its Paris Club (Country) creditors had

refused to do the same (ibid). Nigeria's debt had always been contentious because most of the funds were lent during military rule and even the creditors knew these were corrupt regimes (Anyanwu 1992). With the return of democracy in 1999 and the appointment of Former World Bank director, Okonjo-Iweala and other former IFI officials like Charles Soludo etc. to ministerial positions and as head of institutions including the Central Bank, moves were made to renegotiate Nigeria's external debts with creditors (Dijkstra 2013). These developments confirm the central thesis of Alou (2009) cited earlier that senior IFI officials who are from sub-Saharan Africa who have gone back to their home countries to take up political positions are some of the chief architects of market-type reforms in the region. Dijkstra (2013) notes that specific conditions were attached to the debt relief by the USA and the UK which involved changes in economic policy that features deregulation, streamlining the public sector and a focus on making savings at the expense of spending with revenue on crude exports saved. The proposal for debt forgiveness was partially driven by former British PM, Tony Blair in the July 2005 G-8 summit at Gleneagles, Scotland where consensus was reached to cancel some debt for some heavily indebted countries (Rieffel 2005). Nigeria was considered due to "enlightened economic policies" which it had adopted since the return of democracy (Dijkstra 2013). The debt deal involved Nigeria paying \$12B up front to creditors with \$18B being forgiven. Critics of the deal argued that the \$12B that was paid up front as well as long-running conditions that the country should save instead of investing in the economy takes money away from actually investing in the country including in HE (Rieffel 2005).

3.10. Positioning this chapter in the context of the research aims and conceptual framework

The lower parts of the conceptual framework presented in chapter 2 are reproduced below and highlighted in red are discussions had in this chapter on policy transfer in the context of developing countries which are often at the mercy of international institutional and country lenders which often impose conditions that have implications for policies at local levels. Policies suggested

or imposed, as the case may be, often emphasize a withdrawn state in various aspects of public administration and service delivery including HE and an embrace of a market economy approach, user charges and marketisation.

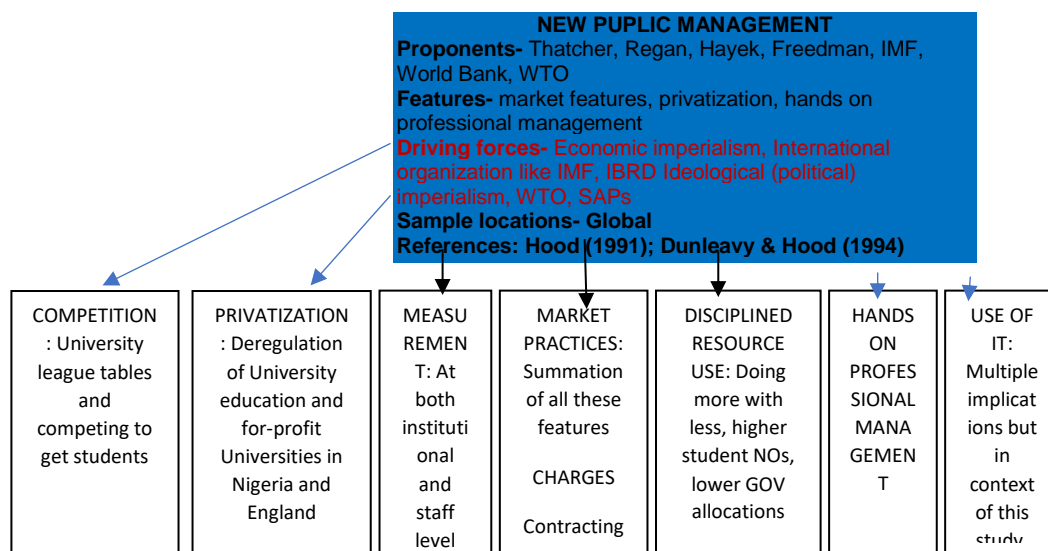


Figure 3.2. Emerging conceptual framework: Driving forces

Source: Developed from literature.

3.11. Summary and discussion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on policy transfer by defining what policy transfer and lesson drawing is and factors that need to be considered to identify policy transfer as well as the variables involved in policy transfer which have implications for its possible outcomes.

Policy transfer has then been used to contextualise how various forms of PA approach spread to different parts of the world from classic PA to NPM. Historical development of Nigeria is reviewed in the context of PA and changes to it over time which has culminated in the adoption of NPM.

NPM in Africa with emphasis on Nigeria in the context of policy transfer, its implications for public service delivery in the country and changes it has made to Nigeria's political, administrative and economic profile is then reviewed.

Finally, evidence of NPM in Nigeria is analysed with emphasis on the SAPs adopted under military rule in the 1980s which resulted in the deregulation;

commercialisation, marketisation and privatisation of large sector of public services including university education are then reviewed as well as their implications in the socio-economic context of Nigeria.

Policy transfer has wide historical precedents, evidenced by classic PA transfer to colonised territories. In the modern era of globalization, the rate and speed with which policies are transferred have little precedent. While most countries are independent sovereign territories with discretion to determine policies best suited to develop them, it would appear based on the literature reviewed above that local national policies particularly for developing countries are seldom untouched by external influences in the form of supranational bodies and richer creditor states. The main question that has risen from the literature reviewed in this chapter then is; to what extent are these policies that were externally developed of which NPM is one, robustly suited to solve local needs of developing countries? Findings in chapter eight and the discussions in chapter nine reinforce the literature reviewed in this section and show that while a market approach has some benefits in both contexts of increasing and diversifying sources of funding in both contexts and sources of provision in Nigeria, it has resulted in accessibility challenges in Nigeria.

The next chapter analyses literature on finance and charging in public services which is a significant feature of marketisation with emphasis on the education sector in Nigeria and Scotland.

CHAPTER 4

CHARGING FOR PUBLIC SERVICES

4.0. Introduction

Having discussed developments in PA and service delivery as well as mechanisms for policy transfer in the last two chapters in the context of the research aims which are an examination of user charges, marketisation and implications for access in the context of developed and developing countries, this chapter discusses charges for public services. This is vital because the literature on marketisation including Larbi (2009), Brock-Utne (2003), Brown (2011c), highlight charges as a significant feature of marketisation and NPM reforms and one which has the most significant implication.

Global trends in public service delivery including university education over the last few decades have shown that user charge policies where service users are directly liable for charges, a move away from government funding has grown (Larbi 1999; Falconer 1997; Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). These trends are in the context of marketisation and NPM practices that have spread globally through different mechanisms including SAPs in developing countries. The adoption of NPM and market-driven policies which are justified based on efficiency, choice and effective management of public services has resulted in increased competition and alternative sources of service provision which has resulted in increasing reliance on cost recovery or user charges for financing public services (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997; Larbi 1999).

Based on discussions in previous chapters, this chapter reviews relevant literature on public sector finance and user charges, its theoretical underpinnings as well as contextual application and outcomes in various locations with a focus on HE in Nigeria and Scotland. This is in the context of recent developments and reforms in PA and service delivery highlighted in the literature reviewed thus far which as analysed are perceived to be global and applicable in all contexts and has resulted in an increased use of charges for

services that were either previously provided free of charge or heavily subsidised.

User charges and its implications, particularly in the context of differences identified between pure and quasi-markets in literature analysis in chapter 2 based on the work of Professor Julian Le Grand which has implications for this thesis also justified this chapter. As identified, NPM reforms are likely to mean pure markets in developing countries while they are likely to mean quasi-markets in developed ones and this has significant implications for practical outcomes.

The above meant that the role of charges and its implications in different contexts was of particular importance and addressed with findings presented in chapter 7.

4.1. Context

Some of what this study aims to address is tied to the fact that most of the context and literature that drives intellectual discourse in academia and policy think-tanks which in turn influences policy prescriptions which are promoted by IFIs and donor countries, which as analysed in the last chapter have significant power over policies that are adopted in developing countries have their origins in developed countries. This is a major reason why this research is comparative in nature. Analysis of the transferability of most of these policies that are grounded in developed country context to developed ones would show that challenges are expected in their transfer if expected outcomes are similar. For example, if the goal is accessibility for all socio-economic segments. This position is backed up by literature including the likes of Larbi (1999), Stiglitz (2002), Williamson (2002) who concluded that the “Washington consensus” policy prescriptions identified in 1989 as standard policies suggested by IFIs which favours a smaller government, market-based economy, including charges and mirrors the tenets of NPM identified by Hood (1991) has failed in developing countries.

The reason for this discussion at this point in this chapter lies in the fact that a seminal paper on charges for public services, Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997), a well-cited Canadian paper has the following in its abstract:

“Our starting point is the belief that whenever possible and desirable, public services should be charged for rather than given away”

The position above is theoretically justified on the basis of “economic efficiency” which as highlighted in chapter 2, is a major justification for NPM reforms. The sentiment is popular and is in common with the position of some of the research participants in the findings section with statements like *“the fact that government can pay for a service does not mean that it should”*. On the surface, not many people can argue against economic efficiency however, this has to be put in proper context and in the context of intended outcomes. Is the aim to ensure citizens who need particular services can still access it, even when economic efficiency is factored in, or is it designed to ensure that only those who can afford a service at a particular price can access it? The latter is unlikely to be the publicly articulated policy position of any government, however, if the answer is the former, in Canada as is the case in many developed countries like the USA, UK, France, etc. which dominate IFIs, most citizens can still access most services, even when they involve charges because of the presence of the welfare state, voucher systems and robust financial systems. Do developing countries including Nigeria where over 60% of the population live in poverty (NBS 2017), have a welfare state and have robust financial systems like what exists in developed countries? These are examined with findings presented in chapter 7. If the answer to this is no, then it would appear that the outcomes of a system of charging for public services would be different in Canada to that of Nigeria. It would appear that the statement above made by Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) which sets the stage for their paper and as analysed could influence policy which is implemented in developing countries would likely have negative outcomes. Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) mention that user charges could be seen as having unfair

effects on poorer Canadians however, they suggest that they have evidence that this is incorrect. Yet, most of the literature on this issue and many other issues raised in this study are grounded in a developed economy context.

4.2. A changing environment?

In the aftermath of the Second World War as well as independence in former colonial states, the size and areas of government activity in most countries increased and these were financed mainly by taxation as well as income from resources like crude oil in the case of Nigeria (Ogundipe 1985; Ogbimi 1996; Larbi 1999). With the economic reversals of the 1970s and the 1980s highlighted in chapter 2, public services were financed by deficits and loans, however this had its limits and often came with conditions including general reforms to public service delivery which included increased use of charges as well as reductions in the scale and scope of government activity itself (Bird and Tsioupoulos 1997; Larbi 1999).

As a result of reforms including SAPs as well as the implementation of policies in PA and service delivery in line with NPM and the neoliberal position, short of full private provision of service providing organisations like universities, healthcare etc. user charges have become one of the main outcomes of the reforms (World Bank 1994; Larbi 1999).

User charges are a type of financing for service delivery in which end users wholly or partly fund the service outside general taxation (Bird and Tsioupoulos 1997). Terms, cost-financing, co-payment, user charge, cost sharing and user fees are usually interchangeably used in public debate (Asato 2006). The differences are that co-payment and cost-sharing make explicit contributions from the individual, state and other parties, out with traditional tax, while terms like user charges and user fees do not always highlight the presence of non-user contributions, though they might exist (ibid).

Most countries now employ some form of co-payment in public service delivery, however, the extent and form depend on culture, historical, political and economic perspectives (Larbi 1999). For example, wide acceptance of co-payment in healthcare in Sweden in the 1970s is partly because before co-payment, the public had to pay out of pocket for healthcare (Larbi 1999), while in England, resistance to introduction of tuition fees in HE is due to the fact that people were unused to paying for public services including HE in recent times (Brown and Carasso 2013).

User charges represent an attempt to diversify public service financing and modify public spending and theoretically should improve organizational autonomy and make it more responsive to customers, however, this autonomy needs to be well regulated or else it could result in new principal-agent problems (Larbi 1999).

Bennet et al., (1995) suggests that compared to other developing regions, user fee reforms have the highest level of use in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), mainly because of a higher level of influence by international donors through conditionalities attached to financial assistance.

Historical context, political situation and public opinion as well as economic reasons are vital in choosing public services which are charged, the levels of charges and the services that are free (Asato 2006). In democracies like the UK, politicians are likely to be voted out if they propose unpopular charges or increases for services that were previously free or subsidised for example the liberal democrats in 2015 (though there might have been other factors in play) however, in Nigeria with its long history of military rule and fledgeling democracy, introduction of charges might not result in similar outcomes and this has various implications for implementation and outcomes.

4.3. Why user charges and not general taxation?

The question of why not just raise taxes instead of imposing user charges is likely to arise in any discussion of financing of public services. Taxes are unrequited or un-earmarked payments, while charges are conditional based on receipt of a service (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). Asato (2006) suggests that additional taxes might impose a deadweight cost and more importantly, there might be public opposition to increases in general taxation as well as people believing that the increased taxes will not be used to fund desired services e.g. the people might want better education and health services but there might be cuts in these areas while defence and foreign aid is boosted. Earmarking (where a portion of taxation is fixed for a specific purpose) is a solution, however, user charges are more direct because while earmarking still requires political will to enforce the people's desires, in the case of user charges, people can vote with their money by paying for services they want, provided that they have options.

4.4. Rationales for user charges

Theoretical arguments for charging include demand restriction, an alternative to general taxation increases, equity, to improve support for public services and to increase revenue (Larbi 1999; Asato 2006; Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). Some of these rationales are discussed below.

- Demand restriction: A rationale for charging is that "free services" causes people to use more than they will pay for, resulting in waste and resource misallocation because adequate consideration of opportunity costs will not be done. Simply put; under-pricing (subsidized or free services) will lead to overconsumption. Rationing might develop because of the difficulty in achieving the production levels needed to meet unnecessary demand levels. Public choice challenges are also likely to amplify due to information deficit pricing would have provided. Markets in public services theoretically should eliminate all these. The rationale of demand restriction was backed up by healthcare studies in

the USA that compared user-charge plans and free-care plans which found that expenses were 45% higher for free care users than individuals liable for charges (Feldstein 1973). Waste is prevented by the consciousness of service costs which a charged service user possesses. In cases like congestion charges where there are no negative social costs and the aim is for people to use public transport, it can be argued that a reduction in demand is desirable, however, this is predicated on the premise that the public/private sector can provide efficient public transport. This is not necessarily the case in developing countries like Nigeria with a chronic undersupply as literature in chapter 5 and findings in chapter 8 shows. On the other hand, for services like healthcare and education which have positive social benefits, too high a charge will reduce demand which is not necessarily desirable.

In education, particularly HE, barriers like competence and the fact that even in countries where HE (first degree) is practically free like Scotland, not everyone qualified partakes, makes the rationale of demand restriction weak.

- Alternative to general taxation: User charge advocates suggest that it substitutes general taxation and well as eliminates resistance to tax increases (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). This is predicated on the belief that if people are required to pay for specific services, they will prefer to see more direct relationships between pay(tax) and service, for example, increased national insurance in the UK and links to the national health service. Asato (2006) however, cautions that such hypothecation weakens flexibility in later budgets and consensus on communally funded public services because it could result in public demand that it should only pay for services with directly visible benefits.
- Revenue increase: Factors including ageing populations, high staff costs, increasing demand on public services sometimes require additional revenue streams outside general taxation. Policies like

paying for parking in hospitals, GP consultation fees and hotel charges in hospitals will raise money provided there are no exceptions. This is however practically impossible because of equity considerations which present problems including paying the manpower needed to determine who should pay or not (administrative costs) which overall will decrease revenue raised. A more important critique, however, is that user charges will result in people who should access a service like healthcare or education refusing to do so because they cannot or will not pay; this presents problems which include future costs to public services to manage outcomes which can include disease outbreaks. Another critique of charging is that it is not always designed to give service users the benefits of market systems but instead to cover costs, raise revenue and make up for inadequate government funding as findings on Nigeria shows in chapter 7 (Asato 2006). Examples of this are provided for State-run universities in Nigeria where fees have gone up 1000% in a two-year period with little corresponding improvements in service quality.

- Enhance equity and aid redistribution: This rationale is premised on the belief that charging for public services can be redistributive, provided it is designed well. For example, charging for HE in England was accompanied by maintenance loans and subsidies for the poorest students to reduce financial burden though in recent times there have been cuts to these grants. The weaknesses of this rationale is made obvious when services like transportation (public transport passes and road use charges) are considered. While there are concessions for some people which also weakens the rationale as a result of administrative costs incurred for enforcement, these charges are usually flat which means high earners and low earners pay the same price which nullifies the redistribution argument.

The table below highlights changes in net financial positions of families on three bands of income after two changes in tuition plans in England.

Family income in pounds

	15970	24000	44000
Fees@	1200	1200	1200
Fee remissions	1200	1043	0
Maintenance loan subsidy	1247	1247	935
Net position	1247	1090	-265
Fees@	3000	3000	3000
Grant	2700	1043	0
Bursary	300	0	0
Maintenance loan subsidy	1031	1031	958
Fee loan subsidy	1260	1260	1260
Net position	2291	334	-782
Gains from system change	1044	-756	-517

Table 4.1. Changes in tuition plans and family financial positions

Source: Asato (2006)

While the systems have subsequently changed multiple time with the grants schemes largely eliminated, the information above shows some level of redistribution since it was possible to identify students from low-income households. This is practically impossible in Nigeria because everyone pays fees, there is no state provision for living expenses and it is currently practically impossible to means test (Babalola 1998; Sowaribi 2005; Oyebade 2005). Bailey (2004) suggests that the major argument against user charges which is that it "excludes low-income groups too poor to pay" only holds true if the charges are not means tested. While means testing is possible in the UK, it is practically impossible in Nigeria which means attempts to increase the use of user charges are likely to amplify inequality.

- Provides information to public sector suppliers about what clients are willing to pay for services and ensures people value what the state supplies (usually at the marginal cost).

Charges for public services can help reduce demand, improve efficiency, improve revenue generation and can positively aid redistribution, however for charges to be efficient in (public) service provision, there should be public acceptability and equity considerations (Asato 2006).

4.5. The economics of user charges

Efficiency is usually touted as the rationale for user charge introduction and the demand and supply of a service is also likely to be affected by how it is paid for, either through general taxation, charges or both (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997).

In the context of competing demands for resources and scarce public resources which as discussed in chapter 2, resulted in the adoption of reforms, charges are touted as a way of improving economic efficiency (Larbi 1999). This is achieved by the signal provided to both consumers and suppliers about how much can be paid for a service and the volume of the service that is needed, i.e. marginal cost (Asato 2006). Based on this, the objective achieved by a public service pricing policy is not cost recovery or bolstering the public purse but efficiency improvements (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997).

Before further discussions, the terms efficiency and equity are defined. Efficiency can either be “allocative efficiency” (defined as levels of service provision being optimal from society’s perspective; in economics defined as whether marginal social cost and marginal social benefits are equal) or technical efficiency, also x-efficiency (levels of quality or quantity of outputs that can be obtained from a specific level of outputs. Introduction or increase in user charges is likely to affect both types of efficiency.

Equity can also be “horizontal”, (requires equal treatment of equals, however determining who is equal and how this is measured is open to interpretation) or “vertical”, (unequal treatment of unequal people) aimed at achieving redistribution. There are people who think all people should pay the same for a service and there are others who think that while all citizens should have equal access to services, payments should be based on circumstances (Asato

2006). This thesis using data from user charges in HE in Nigeria will consider equity implications for user charges.

The figure below theoretically illustrates demand/consumption levels for a service in demand when charges are both present and absent.

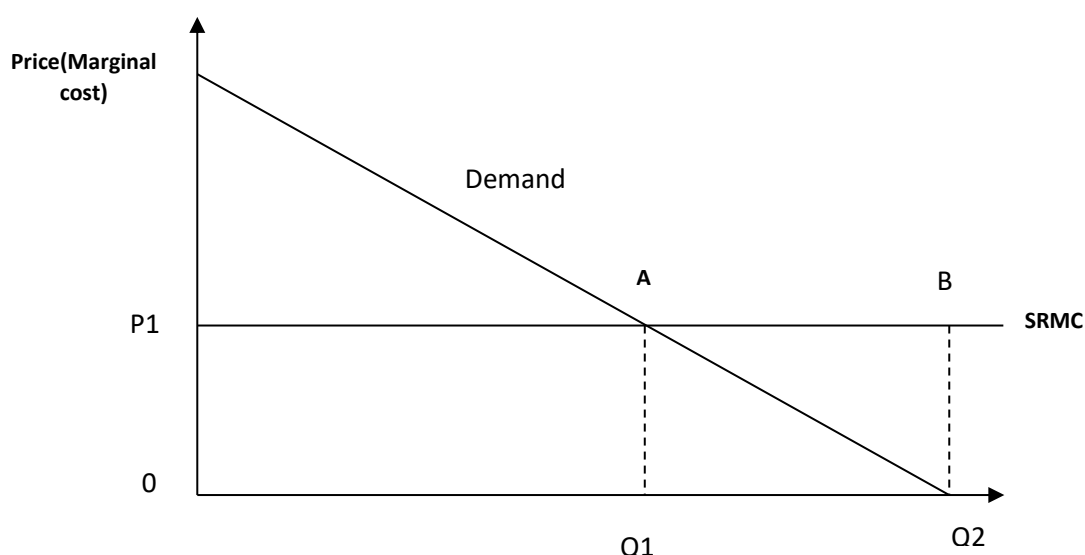


Figure 4.1 User charges and demand

User charges: Adapted from Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997)

In the diagram above, under general taxation only, where no user fees are charged, the rational service user will likely consume a service to the point where marginal costs equal marginal benefits i.e. point Q2. This would be fine if general funds out of general tax allocated for services equal the cost of service provision, but this is hardly ever the case and there is a usually a cost for service provision highlighted in the figure as SRMC (short-run marginal cost) which is greater than zero. Service provision costs up to the point Q2 then becomes the rectangle P1BQ2O which when charges equal to this are levied on services users, it is likely to result in them only consuming the service up to level Q1.

Charges or prices serve as information mechanisms for markets by enabling producers and consumers to decide on the relative value of goods and

services. Marginal costs and values in a perfect market will determine prices through the economy and should result in efficiency in allocation by optimizing production and consumption patterns. Critics of the “producer government” including Seldon (1977) argue that the government does not use price mechanism enough and service users should pay where possible because price is the best mechanism to enable choice and preference by allowing direct comparison of alternatives through common currency and makes opportunity cost clear.

4.6. Politics of public sector service provision

Three philosophies underpin public sector finance in the past century and no discussion of present-day systems is complete without their consideration. They are:

- **Libertarianism:** Emphasizes "individual responsibility" with very little state intervention. Ideas like social justice, fairness, the welfare state, equity or wealth redistribution are not reckoned with. A person's life outcomes are determined by market outcomes. Promotes "laissez-faire" state role. The government cannot be trusted and is largely perceived as inefficient. Libertarianism considers income redistribution irrelevant and social justice unsustainable. This was largely the political philosophy that underlined public finance and service delivery before the development of the welfare state (roughly pre-1940s).
- **Collectivism:** Response to high unemployment and poverty during and after the great depression, emphasizes community, no individual is autonomous, Large state role to ensure social justice, equity and similar outcomes for citizens. To varying degrees supported the development of the welfare state, command economies, as well as the general model adopted by most newly independent states in most of the 20th century. Decades post-1940 till around the 1980s.
- **Neoliberalism:** Post-1980s, a return of libertarianism. Already extensively discussed in preceding chapters. Favours market systems at the expense of government intervention.

Sources: Bailey (2004); Le Grand (2011)

4.7. Financing public sector activities

Criticisms of the welfare state were that the government was too big, too involved through regulations in public life and as a monopolistic provider of public services, fundamentally was not cost efficient and the neoliberalism view suggested that economic efficiency can only be achieved through market competition with the public having free market choices (Larbi 1999). Lindblom (1977) argued that the market was an effective resource allocator, coordinator, rationale decision maker and encouraged enterprise and resourcefulness.

Various economists particularly as previously discussed have advocated that any government-provided services that could equally be provided in needed quality and quantity by the private sector should be privatised even if policies including regulating monopolies, taxing to prevent adverse externalities, subsidising to promote positive externalities (usually to serve socio-political objectives e.g. specific regions) or taxation transfer systems for distribution reasons need to be adopted (Friedman 1963; Seldon, 1970; Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). On the other hand, reasons for the government to continue to provide goods and services that could also be provided by the private sector include the qualifications highlighted above including promotion of positive externalities and wealth distribution which private-for-profit HE providers, for example, have no incentive to pursue and could result in goods or services provided by them not being the same as those provided by government (Asato 2006). While the government might still adopt user charges, it in most cases does not match actual cost or prices charged in the private sector.

A good example such government service is public education, which is likely to involve a mix of people from a more diverse socio-economic background than private education regardless of the negligible impact of scholarships in private education.

Governments finance activities in various ways including taxation (levies unrelated to specific state benefits or service), prices or borrowing (Bird and

Tsiopoulos 1997). In identifying what should be charged and not, the nature of the activity and its market should be considered, and this usually boils down to the delineation between public and private goods or merit goods (Arcelus and Levin 1986). While most economics consider two features (non-rivalry and excludability) to determine if a service is public or private, Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) and Asato (2006) consider six which are analysed below.

- A. Publicness or non-rivalry: This considers the effect a single additional user has on a service on the consumption opportunities of existing users. At one end of the continuum, addition of one more consumer for a “pure public good” has no effect on other consumers e.g. an extra student in a half-full classroom, at the other end consumption of a single product means someone else cannot have it e.g. an extra hundred students in a filled up classroom (pure private good), however somewhere in the middle to the right of private good, access for one more student into a filled up classroom might cause discomfort but not tip the scale.
- B. Excludability: Refers to the ability to restrict access of a service to non-paying individuals, e.g. user charged higher education where students are denied entry or logged off online services.
- C. Economies of scale: Services that require high capital investments of which HE is one if it is to provide good service.
- D. Sunk costs: If the unit costs of a service reduces with an increase in scale, the chances of recovering capital costs become slim which makes them unattractive to private investors.
- E. Externalities: Benefits of a service which are irrelevant to private investors e.g. Transportation and education.
- F. Political and social objectives should be met by government actions otherwise there would be no rationale for government. This is vital for government programs with redistributive aims for example education in the developed world, post WW2 and the developmental state in developing economies.

Based on the analysis above, not many government-produced goods or services including education can be classified as exclusively public or private.

Various factors determine pricing in public services including; monopolies (e.g. mining), mandatory services (marriage and vehicle licences), economic rent (mine leases), competition (government sponsored or private sector), as well as demand flexibility (elastic or inelastic), most of which are beyond the scope of this research; see Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) for an in-depth review.

Inelastic demand however is relevant to this research because data sourced from the Joint Admissions Matriculation Board (JAMB) in Nigeria indicates that over the past 40years, less than 25% of those who seek admissions are admitted suggesting that demand for HE in Nigeria is inelastic and might explain why despite exponential increase in fees, enrolments have increased (NBS 2017).

4.8. Merit goods

The third dimension to the public and the private good spectrum is the concept of merit goods which is attributed to Musgrave (1957; 59). These are services or goods like education regarded as deserving of public finance by the government or society (Arcelus and Levin 1986). Merit goods are justified by social inclusion (all members of society having access to basic commodities regardless of socio-economic status). Criticisms of the concept of merit goods and its justifications tend to come from those who hold ideological views that favour smaller governments and market economies and include views that it is paternalistic, and that societies and individuals themselves are better placed to determine what they need (Arcelus and Levin 1986; Asato 2006).

The analysis of the criticism above and how this specifically relates to a service like HE is analysed in the next section which examines market structures.

4.9. Market structures

Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) posit that prices that are economically efficient will be charged in markets that are perfectly competitive. In these perfectly

competitive markets, there will be many sellers and buyers who have all the information about the cost and prices of items and services as well as complementary and substitute products. Product prices will provide a full reflection of costs and benefits and distributional issues are handled in other ways; like lump-sum transfers.

Going back to the section above, the criticisms of merit goods and how this applies to education, questions arising include: are the university sectors in both developed and developing countries operating in environments that can be described as “perfectly competitive markets”; do buyers and sellers of university education in countries being examined have full information about prices, cost, substitutes and complementary products and; are distributional issues in developed and developing countries alike dealt with using lump transfers? Some of these issues are addressed empirically with findings provided in chapters 7 and 8, however secondary literature in chapter 5 indicates that perfect markets do not exist in university education, buyers and sellers do not have full information on costs and prices and most importantly for accessibility outcomes, cash or resource transfers to address distributional concerns exist in developed countries like Canada and Scotland but do not exist in developing countries like Nigeria. From the wider context of the theoretical basis of this study which considers NPM as global in nature, the analysis here provides some indications that outcomes in developed and developing countries will likely be different.

The conditions for a so-called proper(competitive) market are usually never satisfied and are some of the justifications for public sector activities and provision of services. Similar challenges exist in the private sector around perceived competitiveness of the markets. Under both private and public provision of services, monopolies often emerge either because of scale and cost of market entry, and continued participation (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). Public policies and regulations also often create monopolies (ibid). Under both scenarios, efficient pricing will be what can yield a maximum return to sellers. With market provision and any level of market freedom, premium or “rent” is

likely to be charged and this is likely to adversely affect the poorest in society regardless of cash transfers. If services are however provided by the state (often monopolistic), the state can provide the service at marginal cost however, the monopoly products and services could be perceived as being less socially desirable.

Emergent questions are; how is the price for a product in a proper market where demand is inelastic determined where there are little regulations, and what are the implications of this for social exclusion? These are evaluated using Nigeria with findings and discussions in the findings chapters.

4.10. Quasi-Markets

Given analysis provided earlier on how difficult it is for meeting the conditions needed for the existence of a market for public services, scholars including Le Grand (2006) posit that the environments in which services like public healthcare and education exist cannot be considered proper(competitive) markets but are instead quasi-markets. Quasi-markets are structures in which some organisations that provide public services exist which are designed to enjoy supposed efficiency benefits of free markets whilst also maintaining equity benefits of traditional public administration and financing systems (Falconer 1997). Simply put, all the supposed benefits of NPM and all supposed benefits of Weberian PA. The current system in England with no caps and a finance system that is similar to the American style voucher system resembles the quasi-market described by Le Grand (2011) however, this makes it fallible to the chief criticism of quasi-markets which is cream-skimming (a situation where institutions with the biggest reputation attract the most demand), weakening other institutions and the market itself.

4.11. Can charging be fair?

The popular view of user charges is that it disenfranchises the poorest in society (Brock-Utne 2003). This, however, needs to be contextualised. Who

benefits from zero tuition or no-charges policies? The answer is; it depends where you are asking the question and the sample context.

If charges to recover the marginal cost of a service or product is charged, in theory, lower general taxation to cover the cost of providing the service free at point-of-use would be charged. This would ration the service, provide market signals on the extent to which the service is valued and reduce the footprint of the sector, however, all these are predicated on the assumption that everyone in the society can afford the marginal cost in a pure market system. As Larbi (1999) identified, this is not the case in most Sub-Saharan African countries. In the case of quasi-markets, as described by Le Grand and given the focus of this research on tuition for undergraduate students, the question of fairness of charging in Scotland does not arise because students do not directly pay tuition out of pocket.

4.12. Targeting and universalism

Most of the discussions thus far have considered the issue of charging from a universalism perspective, that is; one where all individuals in society, regardless of socio-economic status pay the same for a service. There are policy approaches where people pay, do not pay, or pay a fraction of what others pay based on their socio-economic status which is “targeting” (Mkandawire 2005). Relevant examples of this include means-testing for living expenses based on family income which determines the mixture of loans and grants which are made available to students studying in Scotland.

The question though is, does such a system in Nigeria exist which would allow for targeting instead of universalism? The literature search on the possible use of targeting in Nigeria did not yield any significant results. The question was also posed to participants during primary data collection and the responses were that there has never been a robust mechanism or methodology for means-testing which would allow targeting, though improvements in tax-collection and the financial systems in recent years might make this possible in the future. Mkandawire (2005) suggests that this is a common feature of many developing countries.

This development put in the context of fairness in charging and the debates between targeting and universalism suggest that fairness could potentially be achieved in many developed countries but would be difficult or impossible in many developing ones.

4.13. Arguments for and against cost-sharing or user charges

The table below highlights some of the arguments for and against user charges and they are expanded on in subsequent sections.

Arguments for user charges	Arguments against user charges
Improves economic efficiency	The monopolistic service provider might overcharge resulting in inefficiencies and even competitors can collectively manipulate prices if not well regulated
Improves equity by directly charging users	Complex to administer
Cost of service production is generated	Socio-economic exclusion for people that cannot pay
Provides a direct link between service and charges	Double taxation
Eliminates excess demand	Inefficient collection compared to taxation

Table 4.2. Arguments for and against cost-sharing/user charges

Source: Developed from the literature reviewed

A vital argument against user charges is that it results in negative distributional effects for example if education was formerly free for all, charging is likely to be challenging for low-income households? Another way of looking at this is, “who benefits more from no-fee policies? Is it high-income households or low-income ones? The answers to these questions are highly contextual, they depend on country policies and services in question, for example; charging tuition generally while providing waivers or grants to low income students is likely to have a more distributional effect, however in developing countries like Nigeria where there are little resources or capabilities to identify who is low income and who is not, charging tuition will likely result in education only being accessible to those that can afford it, while any available grants are given out

on a merit basis. Most arguments for charges are based on the premise that both the rich and the poor pay taxes though in varying amounts and charging results in more resources that can be redistributed and that “no charges” means the poor are subsidizing the rich (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997; Asato 2006). This premise might be true for most countries with extensive tax collection structures, however, for developing countries like Nigeria with less tax collection prowess; it can be argued most people that pay taxes are likely to be high and middle-income earners who operate in the sectors where taxation is possible either in the public sector or registered private sector organisations. A significant portion of the citizenry work in unregulated black markets where taxation is practically impossible. While there have been drives to improve identification and tax collection in recent years, particularly in Lagos state, taxation is still a long way off in Nigeria to resembling what exists in developed countries like Scotland. Simply put, the argument that lack of user charges in public services results in the poor subsidizing the rich might be true in some countries, but it is less clear in Nigeria.

Another distributional implication of charges concerns differentiating between core and periphery service provision levels where core services are free and paid for out of general taxation and periphery services are charged. Such a scheme would have to consider the nature of the service and if it is a monopoly or government-run service in tandem with private providers. If rationed, implications are likely to include the service being out of reach for poor people because high earners can pay for it and become resistant to the subsidisation of the service, and even the welfare state (depending on case study), because the well-off feel they are being charged multiple times. Another implication is “flight or exit” of the paying customers if there are alternative providers which will result in underfunding of the service as well as lack of constructive criticism of the service which is likely to result in lower quality service provision. This theme is well documented in exit and voice literature including Hirschman (1970) and more recently declining quality in the Nigerian public university

sector as a result of higher quality private providers as well as an increasing patronage of international HEIs by Nigerians.

Other arguments against user charges are that it prevents low-income groups from accessing important services (Brock-Utne 2003; Ochwa-Echel 2013). Evidence for this comes in the developed world comes from healthcare where comparisons of access to healthcare due to cost found that 4% of UK respondents reported not filling prescriptions against 22% in the USA; 4% in the UK said they did not visit a doctor despite having medical challenges compared to 29% in the USA (Schoen and Osborn 2004). When economic conditions were considered, 12% of poor individuals did not seek care compared to 9% in the general population in the UK; for the USA, figures were 57% to 40% respectively (ibid). These differences between the USA and the UK is explained by market-based cost recovery systems resulting in low insured rates in the USA compared to the UK National Health Service system. Another critique of user charges is one of perception, where people believe that introduction and increase of charges is a precursor to privatisation (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997).

4.14. Institutional constraints in cost sharing

Theoretically, cost sharing should benefit low-income earners by appropriating resources from higher earners through user charges and redistributing them to low earners through exemption systems, grants etc. (Larbi 1999). This works well in the welfare state in developed economies like the USA and the UK however, for developing economies like Nigeria introduction of charges could theoretically result in reduced access to services for less well-off individuals because there are very few ways off efficiently identifying economically challenged individuals which results in such schemes being left to the discretion of administrators which can result in undesirable outcomes. This can include corruption and the exemptions being provided to individuals on a merit basis which defeats its purpose (Nolan and Turbat 1995; Larbi 1999). Waddington and Enyimayew (1990) found that there was a significant

reduction in hospital attendance in their case study because of user fee introduction in 1985.

While a major argument for user charges is to limit overconsumption e.g., if utilities like water, heating, electricity are free or subsidized, most people would use these resources in large quantities (Bird and Tsiopoulos 1997). A similar argument can be had for healthcare, however, with a service like HE, the case of potential overconsumption is less clear. While there are unprecedented levels of individuals seeking HE in most countries globally, regardless of the presence or absence of user charges or types of user charges being used, even in countries like Scotland where undergraduate education is largely free, not everyone who can attend university does and not all those who attend graduate. There are still drives to ensure particular segments of the society are represented in HE which indicates that there are various other factors in play which would not be further explored because they are beyond the scope of this research. The overconsumption argument for user charges is weak for HE. On the other hand, countries like Nigeria where very high charges relative to average national incomes exist have seemingly inelastic demand for HE, also indicating various other factors in play.

4.15. Positioning this chapter in the context of the conceptual framework and research objectives.

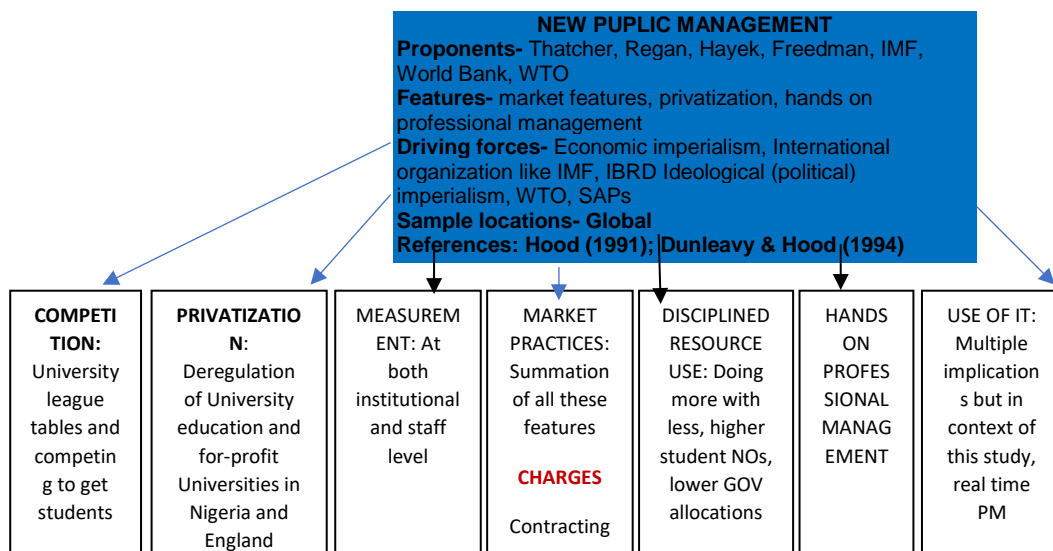


Figure 4.2 Emerging conceptual framework: Charges

While NPM literature including Hood (1991), Dunleavy and Hood (1994) and Larbi (2009) highlight various features or tenets of NPM which serve as wider indicators of marketisation, the use of charges or cost-recovery (highlighted in red) for services that were either free at point of use because they were funded out of general taxation or other revenue sources or heavily subsidised can arguably be considered the most important measure of marketisation. Taken in the comparative context of this research, the significance and implications of charges become even more prominent. In many developed countries (using English University education where students pay tuition as the closest example), user charges can arguably be described as “creative accounting” in the short-term where what used to be a government expenditure (block grants for tuition) is now an income (repayable loans). From an access point of view in a socio-economic context, no one is denied access because they are unable to pay. From the government’s point of view, money given out as loans count as income and while some of it will be paid back, some of it will not, leaving future governments to handle outcomes.

From a developing country point of view and in the contexts analysed above, charges mean only those who can afford to pay for a service can access it. In the context of the lack of institutional features which most developed countries possess which developing ones do not, these raise important questions, some of which this research aims to answer.

4.16. Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature on user charges in public services, the justifications for using charges and increasing it, socio-political implications, economic rationales as well as criticisms of user charges particularly in developing countries with less well-developed institutions.

The use of charges for services including education which traditionally used to be free at the point of use or heavily subsidised has increased in recent time in common with market-type reforms. Efficiency is usually provided as the

justification for charges, however, as the chapter has shown, the outcomes of charging in a developed and developing country context are likely to be different because developed countries have welfare systems, financial systems and institutional capabilities to means-test which ensures that qualifying individuals can access basic services regardless of the introduction or increase in the use of charges. In developing countries, the features described above either do not exist or are not as robust and this is likely to create a situation where accessibility of services is contingent of the ability to pay which likely disenfranchises the poorest in society.

Findings presented in chapter seven support the literature reviewed in this chapter and the position above with an increasing use of charges identified in Nigeria and a policy of no charges identified in Scotland. Even England which has a charging regime ensures access for all qualified individuals with a quasi-market approach. The institutional features that support quasi-markets in developed countries like Scotland including means-testing capabilities, strong regulatory systems, efficient credit and tax collection systems were identified to be weak in developing countries like Nigeria.

The next chapter provides a historical review of university education with a focus on Nigeria and Scotland with an emphasis on funding, user charges and implications.

CHAPTER 5

UNIVERSITY FUNDING APPROACHES AND CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA AND SCOTLAND

5.0 Introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to examine university education funding arrangements in the context of different approaches to PA and to review the literature on historical perspectives of funding and administration of universities with an emphasis on Nigeria and Scotland. This will provide an understanding of how university education has developed and evolved in various locations and in a developed and developing economy context. The influence of Weberian PA on universities and now the influence NPM on the perceived marketisation of universities is evaluated. Current funding schemes in universities, how they have evolved, and their justifications will also be reviewed.

Funding policies in both locations in the context of how they have developed will indicate if and to what extent students are required to contribute through charges. The extent of charges in the context of local features determines the extent to which financial factors have implications for access and this answers a secondary question of this study.

Some facilitators of the expansion in university enrolment in both countries are analysed as this provides the practical justification for the introduction of cost recovery and perceived marketisation of university education as well as previous studies that have compared developments in university education in the context of wider reforms to PA.

Institutional, political and socio-economic differences between the two countries as they affect university education are also analysed as well as implications of the adoption of similar policies on university education.

Finally, the theoretical framework for this research which pulls together all the literature that has been reviewed and analysed is presented and analysed.

5.1. University funding schemes

The 1960s were characterised by increased higher education budgets driven by perceived economic benefits of human capital investment and increasing social demand, however, the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s which saw many nations grappling with structural adjustment programs (SAPs), unemployment, poverty and political crisis reversed this trend (Woodhall 2007). From the 1970s onwards, donors including bodies like the IMF and World Bank as well as donor nations changed their priorities away from funding HE to funding basic education with arguments that early education was a more profitable social investment and it had higher rates of return than higher education. These developments are visible in various publications including World Bank (1988; 1992; 1994; 1995).

It is important to note that the state-driven approach to HE before the financial crisis is emblematic of Weberian PA. The developments above resulted in the exploration of alternative approaches to funding HE which have more in common with a market-driven and NPM approach to service delivery and these are discussed subsequently.

The knowledge economy of the 1990s

The balance changed again in the 1990s with an increasing emphasis on the “knowledge economy” and the socio-economic benefits of HE which resulted in a reassessment of the role HE plays, resulting in calls for equity of access and expansion (Woodhall 2007). World Bank papers on HE published from the late 1990s onwards are in a total departure from papers from the 1980 and early 1990s. *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise (2000)*, made arguments that higher education improves the individual's life whilst benefiting society at the same time, highlighting the public and private benefits of HE.

These acknowledgements of the benefits of HE did not, however, result in a return to the era of government dominance of HE education finance, particularly in a global context. The embrace of market-driven approaches to service delivery theoretically highlighted by NPM which had been adopted in many countries as discussed in preceding chapters meant multiple approaches (most of which favoured charges or cost recovery) which had gained favour were further adopted in different contexts.

The main contemporary approaches to HE funding which can be attributed to the developments of the last few decades which have been analysed so far include:

- Government dominance
- Cost recovery
- Revenue diversification models

Source: (Ziderman and Albrecht 1995)

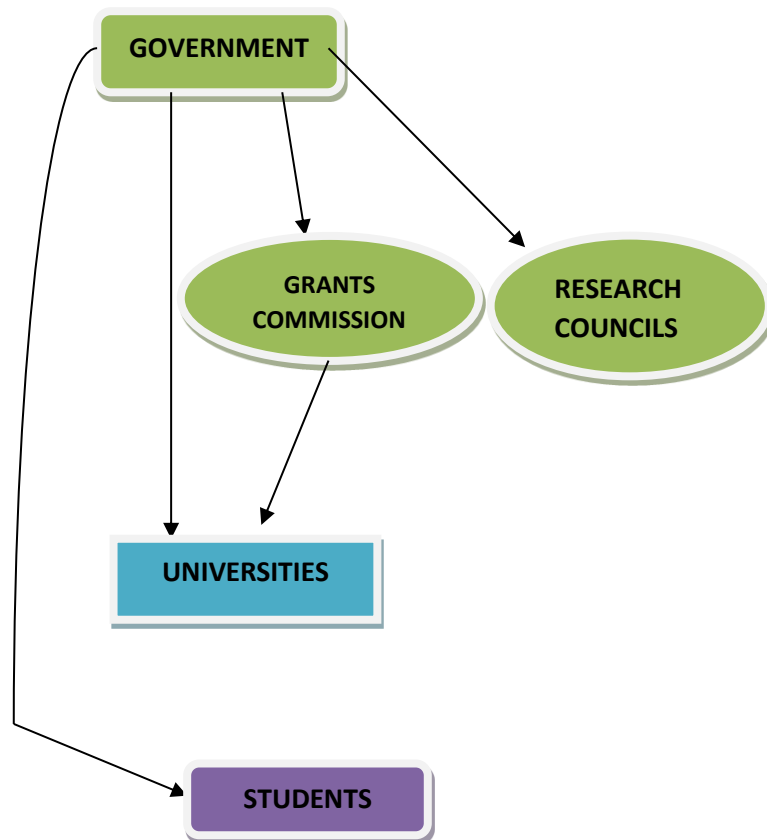


Figure 5.1 State dominated University financing

Source: Ziderman and Albrecht (1995)

Description: Governments through general taxation fund students, universities and university funding bodies as shown by the arrows.

Under this system of financing which was widely adopted in most countries for most of the 20th century, universities were fully funded by the government. The government funds universities either directly or indirectly through intermediaries like research councils or grant commissions (Ziderman and Albrecht 1995). Funding mechanisms could either be block grants or funds are made available to institutions through local councils based on enrolment. Students are not liable for fees since they are fully covered by the government and students living expenses are also usually subsidised in the form of maintenance grants (Woodhall 2007). This system was in place almost universally in the era of Weberian PA. Some countries including the Scandinavian states still have this university funding policy while others like Germany which flirted with tuition fees and cost recovery have reverted to this policy.

Criticisms of this approach to university education delivery are that it is almost always capped resulting in limited spaces particularly for the poorest in society who might not have the best grades compared to the richest (Hillman 2015). Participation rates in Germany which are lower than England's participation rates and tend to attract lower numbers of poorer people is often cited as a criticism of this approach (ibid).

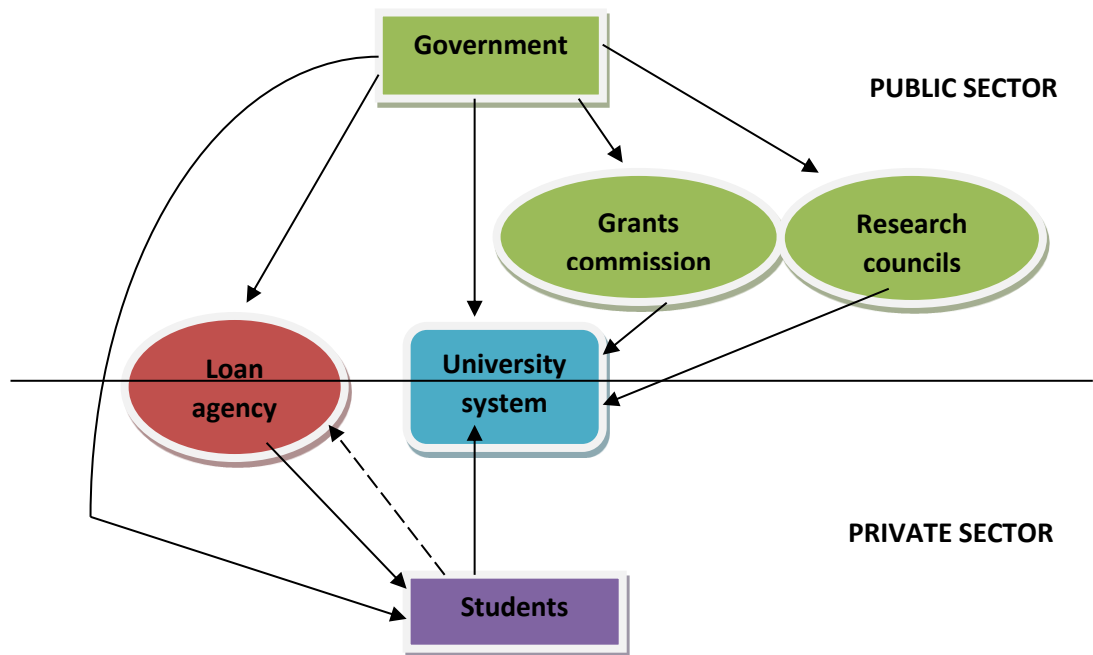


Figure 5.2 Cost recovery

Source: Ziderman and Albrecht 1995

Description: Governments, through loan agencies fund students, however, students have to pay back. The government also funds some bodies responsible for funding universities. The system above is similar to Le Grand (2011)'s descriptions of quasi-markets in UK HE.

This system adopts a user fee policy where the argument is that students directly benefit from university education based on future higher earnings hence, they should pay a fraction or the full cost of the education that they receive. Universities charge fees that realistically covers the cost of tuition which can be in two forms. Asking students to pay fees upfront or; deferring the fees which students can either pay when they graduate in the form of a graduate tax or in the form of student loans. Albrecht and Ziderman (1992) suggest that charging high fees is usually considered socially unacceptable because it will act as deterrence for candidates from lower socio-economic groups from accessing university education and as a result, cost recovery hardly ever operates in its pure form and instead exists in tandem with state

subsidies of HE. This research will confirm if this is, in fact, true for Nigeria and Scotland. Under this scheme, loans which cover tuition and living expenses are disbursed to students through loan agencies which are fully government run, fully private run or a mixture of both (Albrecht and Ziderman 1993). A caveat for successful use of income contingent loans is that the government is able to efficiently document pay and there are efficient collection mechanisms (Chapman and Ryan 2002). The extent to which these systems exist in Nigeria is examined. Depending on context, numerous criticisms are levelled against this approach. In some developing countries, institutional capabilities to anchor such a scheme simply does not exist meaning access to service is likely contingent on the ability to pay. Even in countries where the institutional features exist, students and their families could simply be averse to debt and self-deny themselves access which is the justification for designating some goods and services as merit goods which government discretionally funds or subsidises (Musgrave 1957; Asato 2006). The central question of this study which looks at the implications of user charges for access in the wider context of NPM and market-type reforms in PA and service delivery addresses this issue with primary data.

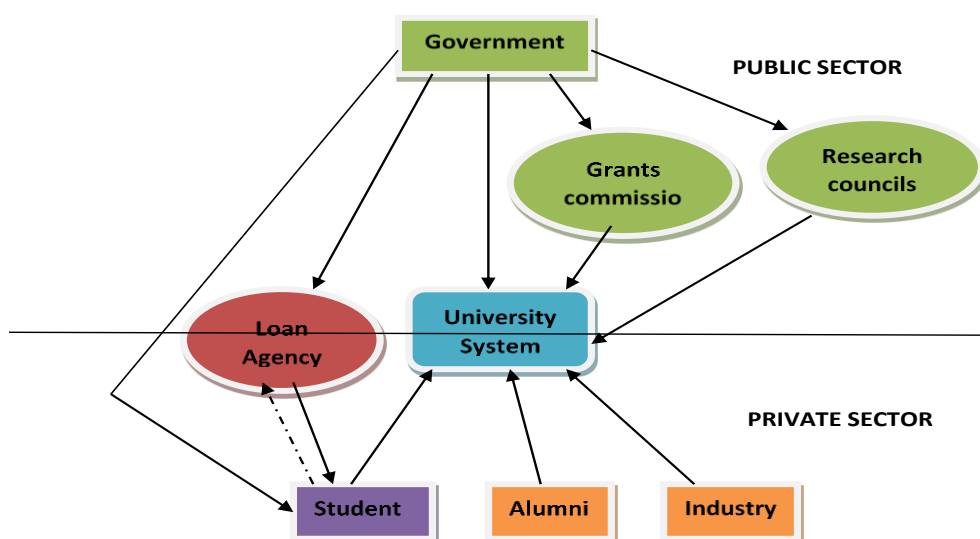


Figure 5.3 Revenue diversification

Source: Albrecht and Ziderman 1995

Description: Same as above but in addition, alumni and industry are expected to support institutions. Only applicable is a limited scope and usually applies to the most elite of universities like the Ivy League Universities in the USA or Russel Group Universities in the UK which are research intensive and can rely on industry and rich alumni.

In order to alleviate financial constraint while at the same time relieving the burden on the state, HEIs are granted more financial autonomy to seek new income sources outside tuition fees which include consultancy services, contract research for industry, tapping up industry and alumni for endowments and donations as well as running short non-regular courses.

The extent to which Nigerian universities or even less-well established universities in Scotland can leverage non-governmental sources of funding will be explored.

Criticisms of this approach lie in the fact that it is only applicable to a limited number of cases in few countries.

It is worth noting that the models of university funding above do not include one in which university education can be considered to be functioning in a pure market which is the case in some countries. Literature and models like the ones represented above tend to only consider developed countries. Given that individuals like Albrecht and Ziderman (1995) and Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) referenced in chapter 4, section 1, write for and influence international bodies like the World Bank and IMF which as analysed in chapter 3 influence policies in developing countries, questions of the suitability and applicability of these in developing countries need to be asked. Another aim of this research is to contribute to gaps in literature like the one identified above.

The two latter schemes are heavily influenced by the American system of funding HE which preceded HE systems in most parts of the world as a mass education system with a large private sector when education in most other

parts of the world was still largely government funded or subsidised elite systems (Woodhall 2007).

5.2. Historical perspectives of Universities and their funding systems

Up until the early 19th century, university finances were largely dependent on a combination of student funding with private endowments and not government funding and institutions were largely driven by consumers (Ziderman and Albrecht 1995). The impetus for significant intervention by the state in the areas of provision and finance was partly the training of people for technical and administrative careers in the civil service in the manner of an employer-based training as a result of its professionalisation (Dyhouse 2007). Developments including industrialisation and technical advances resulted in broader roles for universities in preparing professional and technical personnel for the burgeoning private sectors of the economy and for research (Ziderman and Albrecht 1992).

The first sets of largely state-supported universities were in France (Ecole Polytechnique, Paris) and Germany (University of Berlin), and the rationale for founding them was to provide technically trained experts for government work and provide teachers for secondary schools and university, and this was a trend adopted by several European nations (Ziderman and Albrecht 1995). Essentially the modern universities were government funded employer-based training facilities.

The system spread to other countries seeking to industrialise as well as colonies of European nations. Universities in the colonies initially trained colonialists living in the colonies for civil service as this was seen as a cheaper option than training them in their home countries, however, they also trained a select few indigenous people to staff auxiliary positions in local government (Ogunu 1990). With independence, the university systems in the former colonies were rapidly expanded to meet local needs and fill positions that were formerly occupied by colonialists (Toye 1984).

Several factors have influenced developments in university education in Nigeria and Scotland. The oldest university in Scotland (St Andrews University, 1413) is over 700 years old while the oldest university in Nigeria (University of Ibadan, 1948) is less than 70 years old as of 2016. In common with preceding chapters of this thesis, while the context is provided from the earlier periods of university education and its administration, the focus of this research is the impact developments in PA has had on universities in Nigeria and Scotland from the around the 1970s till date. This was the period when ideas of increased use of user fees for public services, cost recovery and other practices in public service delivery including university education achieved widespread use. The 1970s onwards is the point of convergence which makes this comparison possible, with the introduction of policies in public service delivery and administration that were designed to gradually reduced the state's footprint in public service delivery in the UK and some other countries which as analysed in preceding chapters are considered a global phenomenon.

Massification of university education (UK/Scotland)

The Robbins report of 1963 is attributed with the expansion of the UK higher education sector which up until that point was geared towards educating a small fraction of the population (Brown 2011b). Criticisms of the system at the time were that the system was too selective and was not responsive to the emerging needs of the nation (Brown and Carasso 2013).

Trow (1973) defined a higher education system as “elite” if less than 15% of the eligible cohort participates; mass, when between 15% and 40% participate and universal when more than 40% participate. Up until the Robbins report, the system in the UK was “elite” with less than 15% accessing HE, however, the implementation of the recommendations of the Robbins report, participation doubled between 1963 and 1970 (Walford 1991).

The economic crisis of the 1970s described in detail in chapter 2 as well as reforms in this period, particularly by the Thatcher Government aimed at

reducing government expenditures in line with NPM reforms is credited with halting the expansion for most of the next two decades until the call in 1989 by then education secretary, Kenneth Baker for further expansion which resulted in participation rates of over 30% for most of the 1990s (Bathmaker 2003). Caps on further growth for undergraduate students meant that the growth remained at what Trow (1973) described as a mass system.

Unifying the Binary system and funding

The expansion Robbins is credited with was achieved through a binary system of, universities on one hand and colleges and polytechnics on the other (Bathmaker 2003). The binary system was funded publicly through grant aid with colleges and polytechnics receiving their funding (tied to student numbers and focused on teaching) through local authorities and universities receiving block grants through the university grants commission (UGC) which went towards both teaching and research (Bathmaker 2003). Walford (1991) posits that the post-Robbins expansion was initially funded generously until the 1970s crisis and the 1979 election of a Conservative Government which implemented policies aimed at cutting back government expenditure, increasing efficiency and making education responsive to the needs of industry (vital to note that this terms and rhetoric form the basis of the promotion and implementation of NPM reforms analysed in chapter 2). Significant funding cuts in 1981 resulted in layoffs and reorganisation, however, a reluctance on the part of the UGC in reducing units of resource meant while expenditure per student remained largely unchanged, expansion in student numbers reduced (Bathmaker 2003). Polytechnics, on the other hand, kept expanding despite similar constraints (ibid).

The education reform act of 1988 created the Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council and freed these institutions from local control while it also replaced the UGC with the Universities Funding Council. With aims of promoting expansion and efficiency, a fraction of block grant funding was shifted to the tuition paid by local authorities for students creating a situation

where institutions could receive fees for increased numbers (ibid). Green (1994) posits that universities responded by avoiding expansion and protecting units of resource while colleges and polytechnics took on students for whom they only received tuition meaning the expansion that the government wanted only happened in the latter sector.

Bathmaker (2003) argues that the development above served as the impetus for the Further and Higher Education act of 1992 which gave polytechnics and colleges degree-awarding powers, unified the sector and led to a creation of funding councils for England, Wales and Scotland.

Efficiency considerations which the sector had been faced with since the 1970s due to reforms aimed at reducing funding eventually caught up in the 1990s with funding per student falling 40% from the position in which it was twenty years earlier in the lead up to the Dearing Report (ibid).

The Dearing Report

As a result of the developments above, the Dearing inquiry was constituted to create policy solutions to the Robbins legacy of university expansion and provide strategic solutions on shape, purpose, size, structure and funding of HE. The Dearing report is widely credited with the establishing the principle that graduates should contribute to education costs through charges. Recommendations aligned with the philosophical view which positioned education as a private good instead of a social or merit good and saw regulation by the market as the way to maintain quality and efficiency. This positioning of HE aligns with the efficiency, choice and quality justifications of NPM reforms analysed in chapter 2.

The Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998 enacted on the back of the Dearing report introduced means-tested fees based on family income in all the countries of the UK (Brown 2011). It is worth noting at this point that as the literature on Nigeria as well as primary data will show, the institutional capability to means-test does not exist relative to Scotland or the UK.

Divergence in policy (Scotland)

In Scotland, even before devolvement of powers from Westminster, education had always been devolved since the Act of the Union and Scotland had always had control over its own university sector (Jeffery 2010).

After devolution in 1999, the Labour and Liberal Democrats Coalition in power in the Scottish Parliament established a graduate endowment scheme of £2,289 in 2001 to replace fees, however, this was later abolished by the Scottish National Party SNP in 2007 (Havergal 2016). Accessibility for all is the rationale given for the tuition policy in Scotland and is politically driven locally. Some scholars suggest that rather than been rooted in political ideology, the Scottish policy is designed to appeals to specific voter segments and that it is not sustainable (Riddell and Weedon 2014).

The Scottish tuition policy for undergraduate students classed as home students of no-tuition has attracted criticism from some scholars and policymakers with arguments that government funding and caps on student numbers will result in a situation where Scottish universities are not as competitive as universities in England because English universities are uncapped and can charge the maximum allowed (Havergal 2016). Another criticism of the system is that the poorest students end up with the highest debts due to the replacements of grants with loans however the abolition of grants in England means students end up with less debt overall in Scotland than in England (Riddell and Weedon 2014). Other criticisms are that with caps on local students due to limits on government funding, universities (particularly the elite ones) are turning to fee-paying international students which crowds out local students (Havergal 2016).

Some of these criticisms are empirically addressed while others are not within the scope of this study due to focus on tuition and not living expenses.

Considering the analysis of market-type reforms done earlier in chapter 2 and how this fits within the theoretical framework of this research based on transformation from classic PA (government driven systems) to NPM,

(deregulated, market-driven systems), reduction of government funding is highlighted by elimination of subsidies and grants and the introduction and increase of tuition fees. Eradication of the lines between polytechnics and universities, elimination of student caps, relaxation of market entry rules allowing private sector participation, more institutions being awarded the title of university and universities being granted the powers to set variable fees all indicate the deregulation of university education which are important features of NPM and a market-driven direction for university education in the UK.

5.3. Historical perspectives of university education in Nigeria

The first university in Nigeria was established in the South-West city of Ibadan in 1948 under colonial rule to locally train colonialists as well as indigenes for positions in government (Jibril 2000). With the drive for independence, the Ashby commission was set-up to provide recommendations on HE needs of Nigeria post-independence (Ashby 1960). The University of Nigeria was established by the government of the Eastern region in 1960 before the committee provided its recommendations, however, the implementation of the recommendations of the Ashby committee resulted in the establishment of Ahmadu Bello University in the Northern region and Obafemi Awolowo University and the University of Lagos in the South-West region resulting in three universities in the South-West and one each in the North and Southern regions (Jibril 2000). Further fragmentation of the regions resulted in the creation of more universities including the University of Benin. While University College, Ibadan and University of Lagos were Federal universities, the other universities were regionally administered, and they are collectively referred to as first generation universities. Increase in oil revenues and a need to forge national unity at the end of the civil war resulted in seven more universities (2nd generation universities) established as part of the third national development plan (1975-1980). The regional universities were taken over by the Federal government and tuition fee payment in those universities was eliminated in line with the policy of no tuition and upkeep fees in the Federal universities (Okebukola 2006a).

Further fragmentation of Nigeria into more states resulted in the third generation of universities which were established between 1980 and 1990 and these included a mix of Federal institutions and State institutions where variable fees were charged for both tuition and expenses. The fourth generation of universities are universities established post-1991 and these include Federal State and private institutions as a result of deregulation of university education (Ogunyinka 2014). The figure below provides a timeline of universities established and their types.

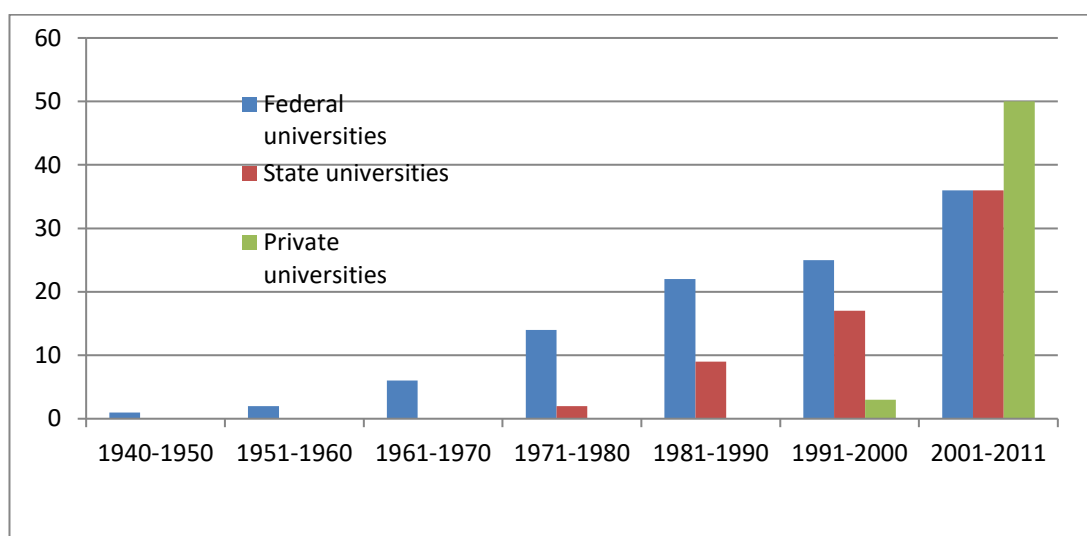


Figure 5.4. The proliferation of universities in Nigeria

Source: Bamiro (2012)

Overview of higher education in Nigeria

Bamiro (2012) suggests that the Nigerian HE sector is one plagued by issues of access, quality and cost by Bamiro (2012). Okebukola (2006b) however suggests that there are five challenges facing university education in Nigeria and these are funding, access, quality, the relevance of programs and university governance and management. This research will focus on issues of cost and access in the context of wider reforms in PA and service delivery which favours a shift in service funding away from the state and onto the service users. An in-depth look at other factors mentioned above is beyond the

scope of this research, however, as direct implications of cost and access; other issues might be touched on.

Access

The table below highlights university admission percentages for a period of 28 years.

Demand and Supply of University education in Nigeria (1981-2009)

Year	Number of applicants	Number admitted	Percentage admitted %	Unplaced candidates %
1980/1981	145,567	24,191	16.6	83.4
1981/1982	180,772	22,408	12.4	87.6
1982/1983	205,112	29,800	14.8	85.2
1983/1984	191,583	27,378	14.3	85.7
1984/1985	201,234	27,482	13.7	86.3
1985/1986	212,114	30,996	14.6	85.4
1986/1987	193,774	39,915	20.6	79.4
1987/1988	210,525	36,356	17.3	82.7
1988/1989	190,135	41,700	21.9	78.1
1989/1990	255,638	38,431	15.0	85.0
1990/1991	287,572	48,504	16.9	83.1
1991/1992	398,270	61,479	15.4	84.6
1992/1993	357,950	57,685	16.1	83.9
1993/1994	420,681	59,378	14.1	85.9
1994/1995	No admissions	due to	year long	Industrial action
1995/1996	512,797	37,498	7.3	92.7
1996/1997	376,827	56,055	14.9	85.1

1997/1998	419,807	72,791	17.3	82.7
1998/1999	321,268	78,550	24.4	75.6
1999/2000	418,928	78,550	18.8	81.2
2000/2001	467,490	50,277	10.7	89.3
2001/2002	842,072	951,99	11.3	88.7
2002/2003	994,380	51,845	5.21	94.79
2003/2004	1,046,950	105,157	10.04	89.96
2004/2005	841,878	122,492	14.54	85.46
2005/2006	91,6371	65,609	7.16	92.84
2006/2007	80,3472	123,626	15	85
2007/2008	911,653	119,195	13	87
2008/2009	1,054,060	127,082	12	88

Table 5.1 Demand and supply of university education in Nigeria

Source: Oyebade 2005; Joint admissions matriculation board (JAMB)

Based on the table above, it appears Nigeria has historically been unable to admit a reasonable number of qualified candidates into HEIs. The response from the government at Federal and state levels as highlighted by figure 4.4 has been the establishment of more universities as well as a deregulation of the sector to allow private sector participation which is reviewed in detail in the next section.

More recent statistics from the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics (NBS 2017) indicates that between 2010 and 2016, 11,703,709 applications were received by JAMB and 2,674,485 students secured admissions in the period under review representing admission rates of just under 23%.

Deregulation of University education in Nigeria

A significant number of private-for-profit (including faith-based) universities operate in Nigeria which has obvious implications for choice, class and competition.

Deregulation from an economic perspective is a process of reducing or elimination of government regulations in a sector to enable demand and supply determine the quantity and quality of services in that sector (Ajayi and Ekundayo 2008).

In education, deregulation refers to an abandonment of the government's monopoly in the provision and management of HE by allowing private participation in the provision and management of education (Brown 2015). Advocates of deregulation including Caldwell and Spinks (1992) suggest it would help institutions to become self-sustaining and result in the establishment of self-sustaining ones, while critics of deregulation including Ajayi and Ekundayo (2008) describe deregulation of education as the sale of knowledge to the highest bidder.

While aims of university education as earlier itemised highlight empowerment and national development through a provider motivated by altruism, private individuals or corporate bodies that engage in the provision of education are often motivated by profit maximisation (Ajayi and Ekundayo 2008). This includes the faith-based universities which charge some of the highest fees in the country (ibid).

Decree No. 9 of 1993 (National minimum standards and establishment of institutions) paved the way for the establishment of private HE institutions in Nigeria in accordance with national universities commission (NUC) guidelines.

The rationale for deregulation of the Nigerian University sector

- Increased access to university education: Demand always outstrips supply with averagely less than 25% of candidates seeking admission admitted yearly.
- Inadequate infrastructure and alternative funding sources: Nigerian universities have been severely underfunded for the past few decades

resulting in crumbling or inadequate infrastructure, overcrowding, lack of educational materials etc. It is believed that private Universities can provide an alternative to this situation (Toye 1984, Bamiro 2012).

- Improvement of education quality: It is believed that private universities will compete with publicly funded universities thereby raising quality in the publicly funded institutions (Idumange et al., 2009). As was analysed in the section on exit and voice, this creates or amplifies class divides as very few individuals can afford fees for private universities and the loss of elite customers from public universities might actually do more harm than good by eliminating constructive criticism (Hirschman 1970).

Despite the perceived benefits of a deregulated university sector in Nigeria as highlighted above, there are visible challenges which include the fact that some private universities charge as much as N3m (£8000)/year in a country where the minimum wage in the public sector is N18000 (£40)/month, with the mostly unregulated private sector where most citizens work often paying much less (Nwude 2013). Other criticisms include widening social gaps and the fear that quality might be sacrificed for profits (Ajayi and Ekundayo 2008).

Nigeria has the largest university system in SSA though it is the most populous country in Africa. Despite this, from the table above, it appears unable to meet demand. Okebukola (2006b) found out that one university (Olabisi Onabanjo University) had an excess enrolment of over 24, 600 students, so not only are admission rates low, the universities are also overcrowded.

Based on the table, deregulation of university education can be understood from the perspective of reducing the burden on the State funded universities, but it presents new sets of problems around issues of equity at a social level as well as institutional equity with the perceived quality of some of the private universities surpassing that of government-funded universities. Contrarily, there are also questions of perceived lack of quality with some of the other

private institutions with some of them being accused of running diploma mills (Oyebade 2005).

The implications of about 25% of potential university students gaining admission yearly in Nigeria however, is that questions of equity cannot be adequately asked or answered because out of the roughly 75% that fail to secure admissions yearly, there are likely to be more than enough people to fill any universities places made available at whatever costs they made available.

Akinyemi et al., (2012) in a survey-based cost implication analysis of university education sector in Nigeria based on data from the NUC and NBS concluded that despite high fees charged by the private universities due to their for-profit nature and exponential increase in fees in state universities as well as increase in non-tuition charges for federal universities, there is a continual increase in demand. Contrary to the laws of demand, higher costs have not resulted in reduced enrolment and this speaks to the value placed on university education.

The table below highlights student enrolment trends over a five-year period with the de-regulation of university education in Nigeria.

YEAR	FEDERAL	STATE	PRIVATE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL (FEDERAL)	% OF TOTAL (STATE)	% OF TOTAL (PRIVATE)
2006	464025	277043	24545	765613	60.61	36.19	3.21
2007	610072	448618	37369	1096059	55.66	40.93	2.41
2008	433950	187279	39264	660493	65.70	28.35	5.94
2009	340524	191565	44940	577029	59.01	33.20	7.79
2010	339364	218861	46843	605068	56.09	36.17	7.74

Table 5.2. Student enrolment

Source: NBS (2011)

Figures obtained from British high commission and the US consulate for years 2008 and 2009 indicated that there were over 10000 and 6200 Nigerian students studying in both years in the UK and the US respectively, spending over N81B or £320m/year at the then average exchange rate of N250 to a pound (Bamiro 2012). More recent figures from UKCISA (2017) shows there are over 17000 Nigerian students in the UK even though £1 now exchanges for over N500 and programs cost more. There are also a considerable number of Nigerian students in universities in scores of other countries including other African countries like Ghana and South-Africa where student numbers and the tuition they pay is harder to access. It is worth noting that the Federal government budget for the whole of the Nigerian education sector in 2008 and 2009 was N210B and N249B respectively (Bamiro 2012). The education budget for 2017 was just over £1BN for a country with almost 200 million people.

In the context of the class divide within Nigeria, this highlights the divisions between people with large economic resources who can afford to pay the premium in private universities and travel abroad and people without these resources, particularly in a country which values foreign diplomas.

The table below highlights the participation rates of Nigeria in higher education with a selection of other countries.

Region	Higher Education per	100,000 Inhabitants
	The year 1990	The year 1995
World total	1302	1434
Europe	2632	3285
North America	5544	5544
Transition countries	2602	2602

Developing countries	713	824
South Africa	NA	1524
Nigeria	NA	395 (667 for 1998/99 session)

Table 5.3 Comparative HE participation rates

Source: Jibril (2000: 13)

This shows Nigeria does not compare well with the rest of the world for participation rates.

Overview of funding of university education in Nigeria based on legal structure

There are three types of Universities in Nigeria and they are:

- **Federal Universities:** While they traditionally did not charge tuition fees, they now do, and students and their guardians are also liable for other charges including accommodation, utilities, documentation and other charges. Students also have to provide their own living expenses as there is no system of grants or loans.
- **State Universities:** Students pay tuition which is variable between institutions and is subsidised by state governments, however, in recent years students in some states like Ogun and Lagos states now pay what can be considered full-value-tuition with no visible subsidisation. Students are also liable for their upkeep and other bills.
- **Private Universities:** No subsidies, students pay a premium on everything highlighted above.

Sources: Obasi and Eboh (2002); Bamiro (2012)

The major sources of income for universities in Nigeria include government or proprietor allocations, Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund), endowments, student fees/levies, grants and internally generated revenue (Bamiro 2012).

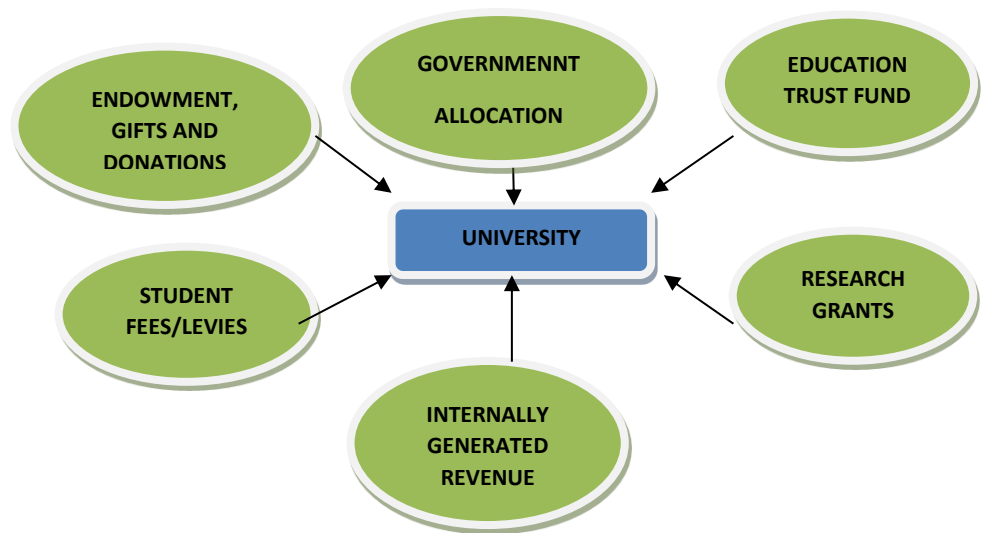


Figure 5.5 Revenue generation sources

Adapted from: Okebukola (2006); Bamiro (2012)

These funding sources are briefly discussed below.

Government allocation- While the data for funds allocated to Federally managed institutions are readily available, this is not the case for state-run institutions because of variances from state to state, and figures for private institutions are not in the public domain. Government traditionally provided up to 90% of funding for federal universities though this is continually decreasing as students are beginning to shoulder more direct costs (Okebukola 2006; Bamiro 2012).

Tertiary education trust fund- Formerly education tax fund and education trust fund established under Act .7 1993 is a 2% tax on profits of private companies in Nigeria. While it initially funded primary, secondary and tertiary institutions on a 2:3:5 formula respectively, it has been redesigned to fund tertiary institutions exclusively and is responsible for capital projects and other activities in government-funded institutions at all levels. There is a clamour for private institutions to also benefit from the fund (Bamiro 2012).

Internally generated revenue- Deregulation has resulted in government-run institutions being granted the powers to internally source additional funds with federal institutions being required to source at least 10% of their costs. Leigh (2007) suggests that this has resulted in a variety of initiatives that have conflicting effects holistically on universities.

While some foreign institutions like Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of California, elite British universities etc, are able to generate revenue from royalties emanating from patents and businesses, the income generating action most Nigerian universities have adopted is provision of evening and weekend diploma programs at undergraduate and graduate levels at significantly higher prices (Bamiro 2012). In recent year the NUC has clamped down on the unregulated abuse of this scheme which has seen people paying high prices for degrees that are seldom accepted by employers (Leigh 2007; Bamiro 2012).

The extent to which the revenue streams exploited by some foreign universities can be exploited by Nigerian universities appears limited. One revenue generation scheme which is however heavily exploited by most Nigerian universities is charges for service users and this is discussed below.

Student fees- While Federal institutions historically did not charge tuition, they now do (they also charge other levies and living costs). State institutions charge variable costs ranging from N15,000 to over N300,000 in some universities for courses like medicine and engineering (Shaba 2014). Some writers suggest that in most cases, the issue is not that fees are charged but that fees rise in the space of a year from N18,000 to N58,000 (Ambrose Alli University) or N14,000 to N140,000 (Olabisi Onabanjo University) leaving students who struggled to pay the lower fees scrambling (Shaba 2014).

In private universities, fees range from N300,000 to over N1,500,000 in a country with a monthly minimum wage of N18,000 in the public sector (NBS 2017). Osagie (2009) argues that the level of fees paid in the private university sector has are too high for the average working-class Nigerian and as such,

this has resulted in a two-tier HE system, one catering to the rich and the rest catering to the masses. Some writers including (Oyebade 2005) suggests that if private institutions are allowed to benefit from TETFund, this could result in a reduction of fees or scholarships aimed at citizens of lower economic standing.

Another perspective espoused by Daniel and Kanwar (2006) is that the drive towards cost recovery (introduction and increase of levies) in government-funded institutions gives private institutions more latitude to set fees they want which will make them more attractive as investments thereby increasing capacity in the HE sector, but consequently also price them out of the range of economically challenged citizens.

Grants- Some Nigerian universities, usually the first-generation ones benefit from grants from funding agencies like the MacArthur Foundation, Ford Foundation, Carnegie Foundation and other international funding agencies. Between the year 2000 and 2010, the MacArthur foundation granted millions of dollars to UI, ABU, UNIPORT and Bayero University, Kano (Bamiro 2012). The implications though are that the institutions that access these grants are the Federal universities which are some of the best-funded institutions in the country thereby widening the divide between State and federally run institutions consequently emphasizing the class difference between the three classes of institutions in the country.

Donations, gifts and endowments- These come in different forms like student scholarships, professorial chairs, donations towards programs that interest donors etc. Bamiro (2012) found that the petroleum development trust fund established professorial chairs at six universities, again mostly first-generation universities including the University of Ibadan to carry out oil industry research with a trust investment worth N60m for each university. This again is likely to amplify quality differences between institutions in the country because most state institutions are unable to access such resources.

The extent to which certain institutions are able to exploit revenue streams that are not available to all institutions is not unique to Nigeria. This tends to be the case in most countries for highly regarded universities however what separates Nigeria and countries similar to Nigeria from most developed countries is that accessibility to these universities is heavily dependent on the ability to pay. While accessibility challenges along economic lines are likely to exist in most countries, in developed countries, voucher systems and loans systems are likely to relatively temper their effects.

Current trends in university education funding (State universities) in Nigeria

To make up for shortfalls in government funding at State level, State-run universities have resorted to raising tuition and other fees. The table below highlights tuition changes in a state university in a period of two years.

Tuition fee changes in a sample state university (Lagos State University) over a period of two years (Naira)

FACULTY	ACADEMIC SESSION 2009/2010	ACADEMIC SESSION 2011/2012	INCREASE IN FEES AND CHARGES	% CHANGES
MEDICINE	25000	348750	323750	1295
LAW	25000	248750	223750	895
MANAGEMENT	25000	223750	198750	795
ENGINEERING	25000	298750	273750	1095

Table 5.4 Sample tuition changes

Source: Akinyemi et al., (2012)

In a country where a sizable proportion of the population lives in poverty (defined as living on just over a dollar a day), highlighted by the two tables below, it becomes difficult to see how students and their guardians can pay

the lower fees, let alone the new higher fees. While this is a snapshot of just one university, it is a trend most state-run universities have adopted.

The table below highlights average minimum wages in Nigeria over a ten-year period.

YEAR	NOMINAL MINIMUM WAGE (N)	MIDDLE CLASS MINIMUM WAGE BY INTRAPOLATION & EXTRAPOLATION (N)
2000	4,000	7,960.70
2003	4,500	8,916
2007	11,132	22,058.20
2010	18,000	35,987

Table 5.5 Wages

Source: National Bureau of statistics (2011)

While it would appear, there is a gradual rise in pay, this does not consider the depreciation of the naira and inflation which affects purchasing power. In 2010, the average exchange rate was N157 to \$1 and the exchange rate in October 2016 is N367 to \$1 or N510 to £1.

The table below shows trends in poverty rate in Nigeria over a thirty-year period.

YEAR	NON-POOR	MODERATELY POOR	EXTREMELY POOR	POPULATION IN POVERTY (millions)
1980	72.8	21	6.2	7.1
1985	53.7	34.2	12.1	34.7
1992	57.3	28.9	13.9	39.2
1996	34.4	36.3	29.3	67.1

2004	43.6	32.4	22	68.7
2010	31	30.3	38.7	112.47

Table 5.6. Poverty levels

Source: NBS (2011)

The Nigeria bureau of statistics puts 2017 poverty levels at 62.5%.

5.4. How should higher education be financed?

As earlier analysed, HE has gone through periods of being both funded privately and government funded when it catered to a small section of people, mostly the elites. While they were contrasting positions, the expansion of the system that allowed larger section of societies to access it was funded almost exclusively by national governments; however with changes in macroeconomic thinking resulting in policies that influenced NPM, there is a continuing drive that university education, as well as most aspects of public service delivery, should either be funded privately or end users should bear a significant fraction of cost as the literature reviewed thus far in this thesis has highlighted. NPM conceives of fees and charges as an avenue to increase allocative efficiencies in resource use and increasing accountability to end users (clients). The extent to which these are the justifications for tuition policies in Nigeria is examined.

At one end, there is an argument that education is a public or merit good that should be exclusively funded by the state, on the other end, the argument is that education brings individual dividends and as such should be considered as just as any other commodity that is openly traded.

Baum and McPherson (2011) suggest that the idea of “public good” is vital in analysing how government allocates resources and that two characteristics define public good are:

- Non-excludability: It is impossible to exclude people who do not or cannot pay from consuming the good.

- Non-rivalry in consumption: More people consuming the good does not reduce its benefit to others.

Based on the definitions above, clear examples of public goods include defence and disease control because people who do not pay taxes still cannot be excluded from not enjoying the benefits of being secure within the borders of their country or the spread of infectious diseases. Very few goods can be considered public good from this perspective, for example, non-paying customers can be prevented from entering a half-empty football ground (excludable) but their entry, (provided they behave well) would not reduce the enjoyment of other customers (non-rival). Alternatively, it would be difficult to prevent two individuals with transferable diseases to access healthcare when the system only has the capacity to take one (non-excludable-since it's in the interest of entire population to prevent spread), but capacity presents rivalry.

Based on the analysis above, it is difficult to conceive of HE as being a public good because people who cannot pay can be excluded however this again depends on the country in question. HE is also limited in supply and is not necessarily demanded by all highlighted by the fact that even in countries where it is practically free like Scotland, not everyone wants it. However, there are positive externalities to society for having a population with high education, for example, volumes of literature suggest individuals with university education in most cases earn more, are able to pay more taxes, are usually more socially active citizens etc (Baum and McPherson 2011).

Arguments for the public benefits of education is bolstered by research evidence which shows that knowledge is a significant vehicle for growth and a driving force of economic performance in OECD states in recent decades (OECD, 2000). This highlights the role played by research institutions and universities in bolstering economic competitiveness of local economies in a global context and as such can be a competitive advantage (UNESCO 2000). Saint et al., (2003) suggest that in 1996, 85% of global research and development investments were made by OECD countries, Brazil, India, East

Asia and China accounted for 11% while the remaining countries accounted for just 4%. As a result of the benefits of research and its impact on society, the more advanced economies enjoy the public support required for continued investments in research, development and education (ibid).

Some scholars take the position that HE has public benefits and consider HE a public good that should remain public responsibility, implying that it would be under-produced and supplied in the absence of state investment (Mushkin and Bird 2003). Tilak (2004) suggests that the external benefits of HE also imply that communal returns are bigger than individual returns and markets do not consider this, and this is a rationale for the state funding HE. Mushkin and Bird (2003) argue that while most proponents of cost sharing in HE take the position that benefits of HE accrue to the student, it depends on the type of HE, with research unlikely to attract cost-sharing relative to teaching. They further argue that because research and public service components of the most universities benefit the public, and research outputs are usually made available to all at marginal cost, they are pure public goods which should be publicly funded while varying degrees of cost sharing can be adopted for institutions like colleges that emphasize tuition.

Chapman and Ryan (2002) posit that the rationale for government involvement in funding HE before income contingent loans were adopted in Australia was because the capital markets would not offer loans to finance the participation of the poor because there was no way to measure future income.

Financing higher education in Nigeria

El-Khawas (2001) suggests that a responsive system for HE finance should address three areas of public interest: (a) increase accessibility (b) encourage and possibly subsidize studies in specific fields vital to economic well-being of the country (c) facilitate needed flow of personnel into careers like teaching or medicine where unintended changes in demand and supply can adversely affect quality of life for citizens.

Based on earlier analysis, while higher numbers than ever continue to access HE, it still falls significantly way below the number that wants access. While there are some loan facilities provided by various levels of government and non-governmental bodies to improve access for disadvantaged individuals, determining who is disadvantaged is problematic because of inadequate data and methodology. Consequently, most of these schemes end up supporting people on merit which is usually individuals that can afford to pay in the first place (Okebukola 2006b).

The government-run university sector in Nigeria has historically and continually been underfunded despite significant increases in student numbers (ibid). While it appears that funding has increased with recurrent grants to Federal universities of N9.6B in 1999 up from N530M in 1988, in real terms funding at 1999 was at one-third of its level at the end of the 1980s (Saint et al., 2003). NPM and market-based approaches to service delivery advocate cost sharing or user charges and this position has been backed up by publications from external financing bodies as well as specific conditions tied to financing.

Saint et al., (2003) in a World Bank-sponsored report suggests the wealthiest third of students can be asked to pay \$390 and the middle third can be asked to pay \$260 potentially through student loan programs and the lower third can be subsidised. The questions that need to be asked for these types of schemes to work include: are there ways of efficiently identifying the economic background of Nigerians akin to means-tested funding in countries like the UK, and is the financial industry capable of providing student loans? Literature and subsequent findings indicate this is not the case. Another important factor is that while this suggestion was made in 2003, the national minimum wage was N9000/month or about £20/month at October 2016 exchange rates. The World Bank estimates that over two-thirds of Nigerians live on less than \$1/day, what percentage of students could really afford to pay the tuition being suggested? Again, literature and subsequent findings indicate the poorest are priced out.

The literature above which primarily comes from foreign scholars working under the umbrella of IFIs shows the challenges of having non-local scholars writing on policy issues in contexts they are not robustly familiar with. While their theoretical suggestions might appear valid, the extent to which they are feasible in the context in which they are being proposed, which in this case is Nigeria is questionable and will be empirically addressed. Methodologically, this suggests that regardless of the expertise of external scholars, it is worth consulting local scholars when preparing such documents.

Anecdotal evidence of the development of higher education policies in Sub-Saharan Africa

A discussion on HE policies in Africa cannot be had without adequate consideration of the role of international donors and agencies, particularly the World Bank (Brock-Utne 2003).

Brock-Utne, an expatriate Professor in Tanzania was commissioned to by the Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD) to review the World Bank (1988) publication, *Educational policies for sub-Saharan Africa*. In the course of getting the views of other academics to fulfil her brief, she describes meeting the vice chancellor of University of Malawi, a Briton who said to her that conditions under which Malawi has been able to secure a World Bank loan for its primary school sector included cuts in all HE student funding and a drive to get students to pay for tuition and their expenses despite the university not asking for any loans. The Vice Chancellor suggested it is difficult to locally set HE policies for Africa when conditions were externally imposed and described the imposed policies as attempts to prioritise primary education over HE, commenting “are we not going back to colonial times?”.

Brock-Utne (2003) indicated that while other indigenous colleagues had misgivings about the new policies, asking that “would the World Bank set conditions for Norway”, to which she replied no, they would not openly question the directives because most of them relied on donor consultancies most notably from the World Bank to subsidise their low pay.

Various World Bank publications including *Education sector working paper* (1974, 1980), *Educational policies for sub-Saharan Africa* (1988), *Higher education: The lessons of Experience* (1994) made the following recommendations; funding and resources should be directed to basic education at the expense of HE, diversification to allow non-public providers thereby reducing government expenditure on HE etc. King (1995) suggests that the World Bank conditionality of “*higher education only after adequate provision of primary and secondary education*” ignores the importance of a functional HE system in aims of achieving quality at other sub-sectoral levels.

Major policy prescriptions in the World Bank reports include:

- Redefinition of the government’s role in HE and Institutional differentiation favouring private sector: Markets are promoted in relation to the state ignoring the fact that there are relatively weak market structures in most African countries with which the state can share responsibilities of service provision as well as even weaker regulatory institutions to check excesses of the market.
- Funding diversification: Cost sharing is suggested by the bank including user fees, privatisation, HE partnerships with businesses etc. Brock-Utne (2002) argues that the assumptions made by user charge advocates in HE is that net private returns would remain high enough even after fee imposition to make HE a rational personal investment however Colclough (1995) argues that evidence for this rationale was based on the 1960s and 1970s earning data which did not account for significant reductions in real earning as well as present differentials between graduates and non-graduates. As highlighted throughout this chapter, reductions in real earnings for Nigerian and most of SSA is significant, with the value of the naira changing within the past 30 years from \$1 equal to N1 in the mid-80s to \$1 exchanging for over N360 in 2016 without a corresponding increase in pay.

Buchert (1995) suggests that some implications of this position by IFIs were that donors and agencies like the Dutch development agency, DFID, the French ministry of development co-operation, Italian development co-operation etc., which previously allocated substantial portions of their education assistance to HE in developing countries shifted their focus to basic education.

This is exemplified by German development agency's Kuper Wolfgang (1998) who posited that "since "the World conference on education for all" in Thailand (1990), promotion of HE in developing countries by ministries of development cooperation has become less popular in most industrialised countries with emphasis shifting to basic education".

An implication of these policies for HE in developing economies is that user fees have increased, resulting in access and attrition issues from individuals from less well-off families. This is highlighted by de-registration of over 2000 students in two Kenyan universities with combined capacities of 6000 students in 1996 (Mazrui 1997).

These positions on HE run counter to "Universal declaration on human rights, article 26 that asserts that "everyone has a right to education" and that "higher education shall be accessible to all, on a merit basis", as well as UNESCO's 1960 convention against discrimination in education which required member states to "make HE accessible to all, based on their abilities" (UNESCO 1998).

More recent World Bank publications including: *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (World Bank, 2000) and *Constructing Knowledge—Challenges for Tertiary Education* (World Bank, 2002) have however advocated different courses of actions by highlighting that HE is vital to the survival of nations against its previous position of pressuring developing states and international donors to prioritise basic education over higher education. World Bank (2000) indicated that in the modern world, HE is basic education and that it is no longer a luxury, but essential for survival as well as the fact that developing countries are increasingly lagging behind. The World

Bank (2002. Xviii) contained the following statement: “*There is a perception that the Bank has not been fully responsive to the growing demand by clients for tertiary education*”. This new position has resulted in HE loans to developing nations as well as encouragement of agencies and foundations including Ford, Carnegie, MacArthur and Rockefeller foundations to fund HE, resulting in a pledge of \$100m to support some universities in Africa over a fixed period. Some of the foundation grants have been discussed in funding HE in Nigeria as earlier discussed.

This change in position in the early 2000s by IFIs came about largely as a result of reviews into their operations which resulted in NGOs in the US lobbying Congress to threaten support withdrawals for the IFIs if they did not change their position on policies including charging of user fees as loan conditions for developing countries (DFID 2004).

Brock-Utne (2002) argues that while the World Bank has changed position with renewed emphasis on emphasising the relevance of HE particularly in developing states, it still promotes its neoliberal agenda of market-based HE and cost recovery.

Sawyer (2002), a former head of the association of African universities posited that market-driven globalisation and underfunding of African universities in line with the neo-liberal agenda has adversely affected research capabilities and independence of African universities.

Going back to research aims, while there are some benefits to marketisation, the question of implications for access, particularly for the poorest is still vital.

While this study considers reforms from HE perspective, most aspects of public service delivery including healthcare have also witnessed such reforms with the World Bank publication, *Financing Health Services in Developing Countries* (1987) advocating cost sharing for health services indicating that beyond higher education, marketisation and user charges for services that traditionally did not attract charges, charging has become a feature of many developing countries.

5.5. Review of research questions and conceptual framework

This section creates links between the literature that has been reviewed thus far, the research objectives and the specific research questions for this research in the framework below.

The specific research objectives are:

- To analyse the effects of university sector reforms in Nigeria and Scotland from an NPM/neoliberal perspective with a focus on cost recovery as well as implications for access,
- To analyse drivers and theoretical basis of the reforms as well as cross-national implications of outcomes,
- Evaluate the extent to which university education in both places can be considered marketised.

Two frameworks are provided below. The first one completes the framework developed through the literature review chapters while the second puts that same framework in the context of the research questions.

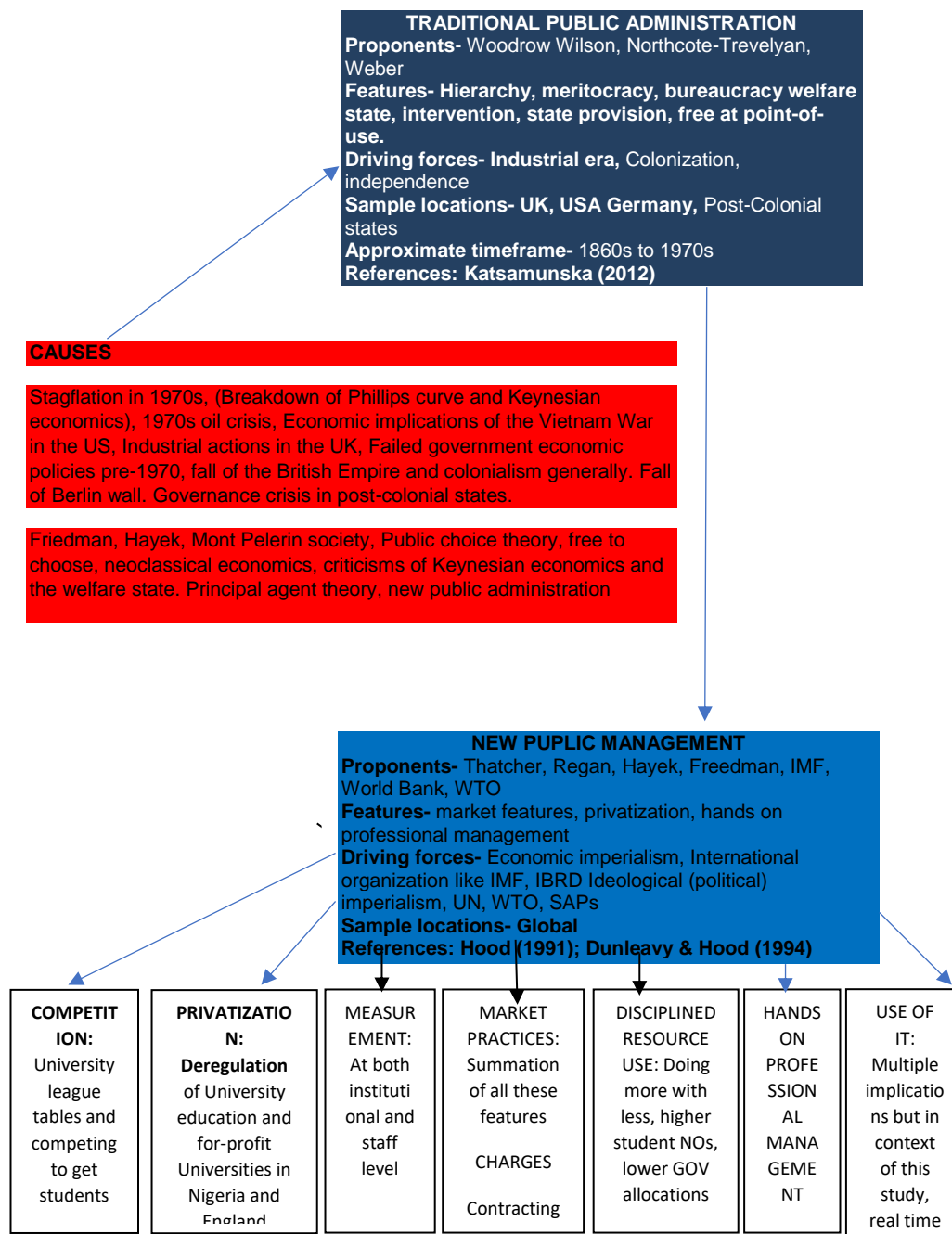


Figure 5.6 Analytical framework

Source: Developed from literature

The framework above considers the implications of all the tenets of NPM on University education and asks the question; does it mean universities have been marketised if it is established that these features are present in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland?

More importantly, the practical implications of marketisation for access in the two contexts are explored.

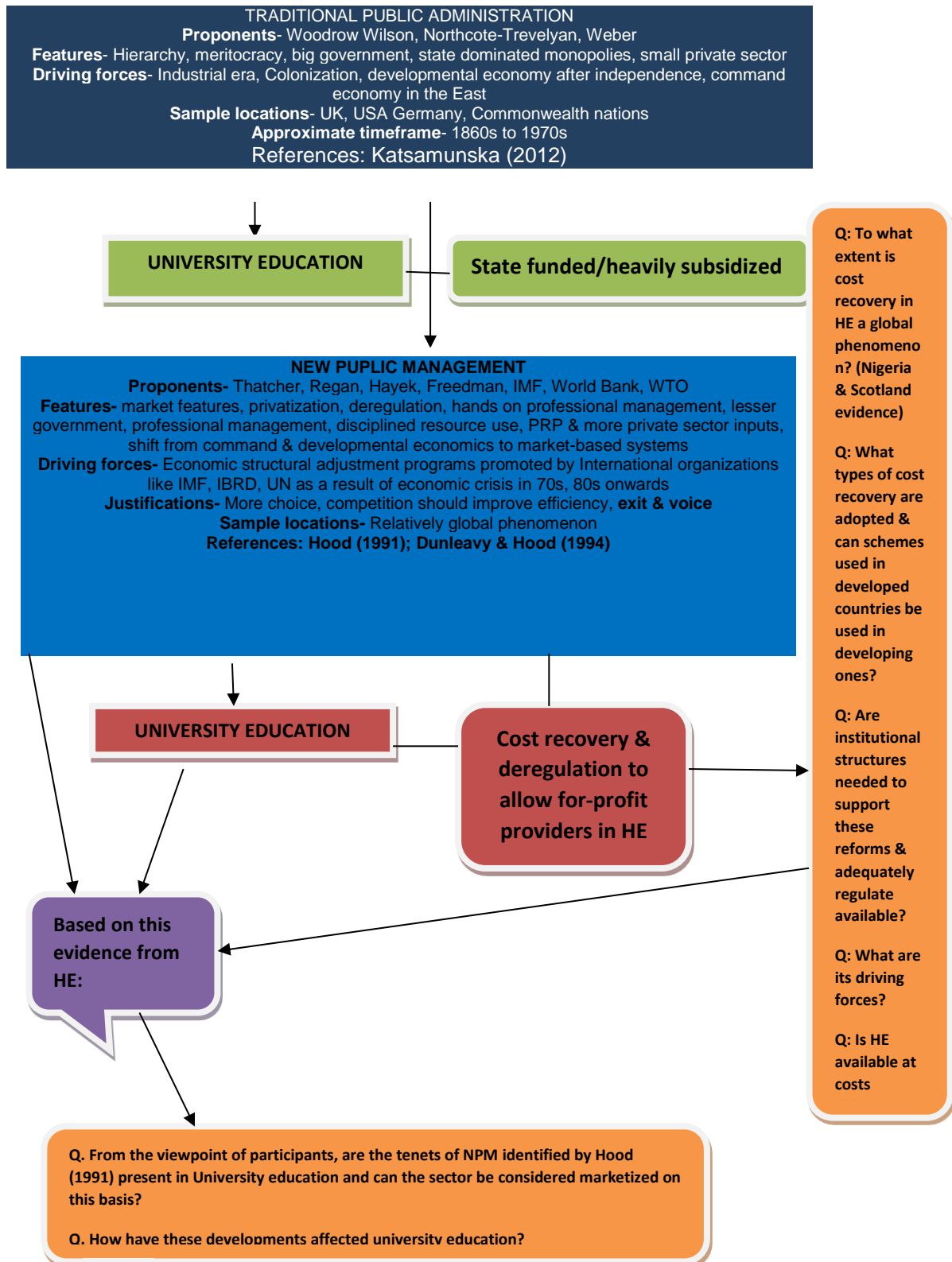


Figure 5.7. Framework and questions

Based on the combined framework above which links the theory and some of the questions that have been developed from the literature reviewed thus far, there are two findings chapters which are chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7 provides findings on the first sets of questions highlighted in the vertical question panel above and include questions of user charges in the context of marketisation being global as NPM literature suggests; tuition policies in Scotland and Nigeria as well as implications for access; policy drivers as well as the applicability of policies used in either country in the other.

Chapter 8 provides findings on the bottom question panel above which addressed the context of marketisation of university education in the wider context of the tenets of NPM identified by Hood (1991). It addresses the extent to which these different features of NPM and market-based service provision are present in university education in Nigeria and Scotland and considers if university education can be considered marketised in this wider context. It also addresses the perceptions of research participants who are all mostly HE insiders on the effects potential marketisation has had on university education itself.

5.6. Summary and discussion

This chapter has analysed the three types of funding schemes that are widely adopted in university education in most countries globally highlighting the fact that full or major government funding used to be the dominant funding policy adopted in most of the 20th century particularly in the era of classic public administration when most public enterprises and services were under government control or government funded. This has however changed with the adoption of cost recovery schemes and revenue diversification models in line with policies adopted by governments that became known as NPM. Some countries however still retain funding schemes that exclusively rely on government funding.

Historical review of the literature on the developments of universities with a focus on Nigeria and the UK was then conducted while highlighting peculiarities of Nigeria and her university sector which the primary audience of this research might not be familiar with. Justifications for and criticism of cost recovery schemes were then provided.

Chapter finished with frameworks that considered the research questions in the context of the theoretical framework developed and provided a layout of the findings chapters.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.0. Introduction

The preceding chapters have provided and analysed the rationale for this research, its background including historical developments in PA and service delivery with a specific focus on university education in Nigeria and Scotland. The theoretical and practical developments that have resulted in current systems of PA and service delivery and the various mechanisms through which it is transferred and functions have been reviewed. An in-depth analysis of developments in university education finance and management in Nigeria and Scotland which is the focus of this research has also been provided. An analytical approach which Silverman (2000) described as laying everything out on a plate at the outset was taken in this research.

Research methodology scrutinizes the decisions and actions taken by the researcher in conducting the research and allows the logic behind them to be examined (Kothari 2004). Therefore, this methodology section indicates the research domain and underlying assumptions of the methodological approach taken in executing this research. The chosen research method is discussed with justifications provided for the adopted research approach. Processes, participants and context, including the comparative nature and its justification, are also discussed. Quality considerations, ethical challenges and methodological limitations are also analyzed. A reflection of the relationships between the philosophical assumptions of the social world held by the researcher, how it shapes the methodological position favoured and adopted as well as theoretical assumptions and traditions used in the subject being analysed and the wider field in which it is nested is also provided.

6.1. Research aims

The aim of this research was to examine the changes in university education funding and administration policies in the past few decades and consequent

implications for access in the wider context of general changes in PA and service delivery which has seen services in the public domain, usually provided and managed centrally and almost exclusively funded out of general taxation (PA) change to a more deregulated system which involves state, private/third sector service provision and varying degrees of direct and indirect user charges (NPM). This study analysed changes in the context provided above in developed and developing countries by looking at university education in Nigeria and Scotland. The justifications for this will be provided subsequently. The themes that shape the basis and core of this study are: (a) the presence or absence of user charges in university education (tuition only), and implications for access in Nigeria and Scotland; (b) the developing and developed country context, all moving towards a “sameness” or “identical systems of public service delivery” of which it would be expected that the developed countries being the drivers of this policy transformation through their dominance of policy influencing vehicles like IFIs etc. would exhibit higher features of NPM than the developing ones; (c) the drivers of these policies which include globalisation, spread of democracy, legacies of colonialism, IFIs and other donor agencies.

The conceptual framework emerged through the literature review process and this and the researcher's philosophical worldview directed the format primary data collection took. Secondary data as well as literature reviewed informed the conceptual framework and contributed to an understanding of the debates around user charges in university education. Secondary data and literature also informed the main research themes including; implications for access and the wider contexts of locations involved in the study; changes in PA and service delivery and drivers.

6.2. Research Design: Case Studies

Nigeria and Scotland were chosen as case studies to examine the marketisation of university education in developing and developed countries and this section provides the justifications for the selection of the two countries.

The selection of these significantly different two countries had implications for other research decisions made and the rationale for all these are provided.

Most research involves an evaluation of samples and while this study considers marketisation in developed and developing countries, Nigeria and Scotland were selected as cases for evaluating the claims of the worldwide ascendancy and dominance of markets in university education made by the likes of Johnstone et al. (1998) and Brown (2011c). The literature reviewed so far suggests that most countries have adopted a market approach to university education funding and management and these two significantly different countries provided ideal cases for evaluation given visible differences in charging policies given that user charges form a significant feature of marketisation and a new public management approach to service delivery.

Nigeria and Scotland were also chosen for the more practical reasons of assured access to a pool of potential participants and efficient use of available resources. The researcher had designed a study at Masters degree level that looked at organisational ownership structures and firm performance in a popular employee-owned organisation in the UK but could not recruit any research participants because of what was later found out to be a culture of non-engagement with researchers hence, the probability of gaining access to potential participants which Nigeria and Scotland offered given that the researcher had ties to both cannot be overstated.

Another rationale for selecting these two countries is the positioning of the researcher as a native researcher as it concerns both Nigeria and Scotland. This is subsequently discussed.

The selection of two significantly different countries had implications for all aspects of the study including the philosophical positions adopted, data collection methods, sampling and analysis and these are discussed next.

Research Paradigm

Research of this nature often involves a quantitative approach and an analysis of statistical data. While useful data exists for Scotland on variables like economic status, access etc., the availability of such data in Nigeria was

limited. While data collection and management in Nigeria has improved significantly in the past few years, data on variables like access based on economic circumstances do not exist.

The philosophical perspective of the researcher will have implications for how the study is designed as well as the way data is gathered, analysed and presented (Bailey 2007). Creswell (2012) posits that it is important as a matter of good practice in research that the researcher's worldview is at the offset contemplated, understood and clearly acknowledged because it would be reflected through the whole of the research.

The researcher believes that reality is constructed through human activity and the interactions humans have with each other is what provides meaning. This calls for the adoption of "Verstehen" which Hennink et al., (2001) refer to as "understanding the life of the people whom you study from their own perspective, in their own context and describing this using their own words and concepts". Ormston et al., (2014; 11) describe Verstehen as "studying people's lived experiences which occur in a specific historical and social context". Both definitions are vital because even though the research examines certain issues that are "fixed" or non-negotiable; for example, universities in certain locations either charge or they do not, and private-for-profit providers either exist or they do not; other research questions which are developed by taking a step back and considering the social-political and economic rationales for the policies, their suitability in different climes and their outcomes are open to debate. Simply put, because of the researcher's worldview of what knowledge is, and how to get it, the research is not only about the "fixed" issues under investigation but the actors that have been selected to evaluate the issues in their own contexts which brings into full view the actors (interviewees) historical context, social context and lived experiences.

Under interpretivism, reality is multiple and relative, and these multiple realities also depend on other structures to confer meaning and this makes its interpretation even more challenging in terms of fixed realities (Lincoln and

Guba 1985; Neuman 2000). Knowledge is socially constructed and perceived as opposed to being objectively determined (Carson et al., 2001; Hudson and Ozanne 1988). In the context of a comparative study of this nature and the differences that have already been established from literature, this appears to be a suitable approach.

Interpretivists believe that the researcher, the research and the research participants are not separate entities but interdependent (Hudson and Ozanne 1988).

While the researcher approaches the research with some prior insights of the research context, there is an acknowledgement that this is not sufficient enough to develop a fixed research design because of multiple, complex and an unpredictable nature of reality hence, the researcher remained open to new knowledge throughout the study and allowed participants to help in developing this (Hudson and Ozanne 1988). The factors described above are factored into the purposeful sampling approach adopted to select people were subject experts, university education insiders and senior public servants to allow them to contribute as experts. This is discussed in detail subsequently.

6.3. Sampling Strategy and data collection method

It is vital to consider who or what is sampled, the form sampling takes and sites or how many people are sampled. The strategy adopted is consistent with a case study strategy. A purposeful sampling strategy was used in this study because the cases would allow an understanding of the research question and objects (Creswell, 2007).

Criteria-based or purposive sampling involves identifying cases and participants based on their “purposefulness” for the study (Yin 2011; Babbie 2013). Certain pre-determined criteria inform those involved. In this study, it was those involved in HE as administrators, academics (particularly PA and management academics) and senior public employees involved in policy formulation and implementation. These decisions tie in with the position in qualitative sampling and studies that the aim is to capture the experiences and perspectives of a wide range of stakeholders, and it is not about replication of

frequency found in positivist studies or probability sampling (Boeje 2010). Despite the non-probability nature of sampling in this study as it has been described thus far, it is still vital to capture a wide range of perspectives to elicit an in-depth account of perceptions through multi-dimensional understandings (Flick 2009). This would improve data quality and validity through triangulation (ibid).

Snowball sampling was used in addition to purposeful sampling and this involves already identified and engaged participants, recommending or helping in the recruitment of subsequent participants based on their knowledge and new insight within the situational context of the study (Tracy 2010). This allows the recruitment of hidden participants that might not have been otherwise available to the researcher (Babbie 2013). This was invaluable in this study because academics were recommending administrators based on questions they felt they could not adequately answer.

A reason why university lecturers and administrators have been chosen is accessibility. Researcher's previous experiences where studies which colleagues have considered interesting have been designed but accessibility to subjects have proven difficult informed this. There is no point designing any type of research particularly a qualitative one if the researcher will struggle to gain access to his or her chosen subjects. The probability of gaining access to potential intended subjects cannot be overstated. While policymakers and students might have their views on user charges and marketisation of university education which could provide useful data for the study, current students in Nigeria are unlikely to be able to put into perspective the idea that university education and by extension most forms of public service delivery were at a time exclusively provided by the government and free or heavily subsidised. Current students in Scotland are also unlikely to be able to conceive paying for services including university education. The perspective of students was also not considered vital because having reviewed literature going back about fifty years chronicling the debates and move of university education from mostly state-funded institutions to the introduction of charges

and the subsequent student demonstrations, some resulting in loss of life, very few changes or reversal of policies have risen out of all these. The findings in the UK, albeit to a lesser extent in Scotland is similar. This led the researcher to conclude that while the issues of “user charges and marketisation of universities” affect students the most, their influence on how it is managed is limited. On the other hand, university administrators are involved in policies within their individual institutions, academics can provide “arguably” informed and detached commentary on developments in the sector that also personally affects them, and civil servants with an interest in HE can also provide commentary one-step removed from what academics can provide. Interviewing retired and current university and public service employees also provided a longitudinal evaluation of issues under consideration.

Identifying and gaining access to politicians in Nigeria and Scotland proved to be challenging with data collection occurring in and around the time of the 2017 general elections in the UK. The decision was made that if UK politicians were not involved, it would not be right to involve Nigerian politicians. University lecturers and administrators, on the other hand, were accessible and possessed necessary knowledge of developments in university education, including marketisation because they work in the system and some would have gone to university in the period of government dominance in funding of university education.

The researcher’s networks and connections were purposefully used to get access to university lecturers and administrators in Nigeria and Scotland and snowball sampling was employed to gain access to even more lecturers in these universities and others. There is always a concern in non-probability samples like snowball sampling that using networks to establish contacts will result in undifferentiated data as people are likely to recommend friends who might share similar views. This happened to be the case in the earlier parts of this research particularly in Scotland with most interviewees and data collected at that point suggesting for example that university education should be funded

exclusively by the state. This led the researcher to actively seek out individuals that met the inclusion criteria that held opposing views and the data collected from this point onwards tended to be more dynamic. Establishment of contacts with some individuals in some Red-brick and Russell group universities yielded a suitable number of interviewees who held views that were different from those that had been interviewed up until that point. There was a perception that saturation had been reached at least in Scotland as described above when most of the interviewees had similar views even though it was quite early in the data collection process. Actions taken to expand the pool of interviews described above indicated this would have been false saturation. At around 32 interviews, it was felt that no additional information that fell within the scope of the study was being discovered. A few more interviews were conducted just to be sure. This ended at number 35 due to saturation as well as the fact that the time-frame set-out for data collection in the study had lapsed.

Social networks particularly Twitter and LinkedIn played an important role in identifying and establishing contacts with seemingly unreachable individuals. The old-fashioned trawling through various universities staff directory, identifying various academics with expertise and publications in relevant fields also played a part.

Due to time and resource constraints, the researcher did not travel to Nigeria for data collection. While most of the interviews with UK-based individuals were conducted through face-to-face interviews, most of the interviews with Nigerian participants were conducted using telephone interviews and video calling over WhatsApp and Skype.

The implications of the sampling choices adopted are discussed subsequently in discussions of research limitations.

Description of research participants and the implications of sample

Staff (both academic and administrative) from, so-called, Russell group universities, Red-brick and post-1992 institutions from Scotland were involved. Staff from private, State and Federal universities in Nigeria were involved as

well as senior government officials (current and retired). This mixture of interviewees made it possible for gauging variation and identifying and exploring patterns of association which were vital for triangulation and validity purposes (Bryman 2012).

There were no efficient formal measures of economic class in Nigeria however, all Nigerian participants self-identified as middle class. This appears plausible given that these were all individuals who had jobs and could not be considered among the 62.5% on Nigerians identified by the Nigeria Bureau of Statistics as living in poverty. Most of these individuals had children in private and foreign universities that they were paying a premium for. Given that this was a study that evaluated marketisation and its implications for access which was likely to affect the poorest individuals in the country, there might have been some benefit to including individuals in lower economic positions however, those who met the inclusion criteria were purposefully selected because they were university education insiders and held expert knowledge on the issues the research explored. They were also selected because being professionals including academics, they might be able to discuss the issues separate from the implications it has for them personally which might not necessarily be true of other categories of potential participants. As findings in chapters eight and nine show, participants still overwhelmingly felt that university education was increasingly unaffordable to Nigerians due to rising costs. This suggested that the purposeful selection of these individuals did not necessarily result in findings that would likely have been different from the views of the general population. Contrasting the findings with existing literature including Oyebade (2005) and Ogunyinka (2014) showed similar conclusions of the increasing unaffordability of university education.

Scottish participants mostly identified as working class however this had a limited implication for findings given the focus on user charges and implications for undergraduates.

6.4. Developing interview questions and the data collection process

Informed consent forms and information sheets were sent to all participants. Samples of these are provided in Appendix 1 and 2 respectively.

Three pilot interviews were executed prior to the proper commencement of the data collection process. This was done to test how well the research questions that had been developed worked in the field to ensure any teething problems could be addressed before full fieldwork started. Yin (2011) and Silverman (2013) posit that this is important in qualitative research to maximise time spent with interviewees. While the questions were well received, it was found during the first pilot interview that the recording instrument was not switched on half-way through the interview. The researcher was assured that this was common with early career researchers by the interviewee. The issue was addressed by two different recording devices being used for the rest of the data collection process. The piloting process made the interviewer more confident and questions that needed to be refined were refined.

Actual interviews were driven by a small set of pre-determined questions derived from literature, key themes and designed to capture most of what needed to be covered to achieve research aims. The rationale was to guide the interview within themes and agreed on timeframes but not to constrict. The actual interviews were more conversational than interrogatory. In this spirit, there was an expectation which was met that there would be improvisation allowing more or fewer issues to be covered from one interview to the other and as such, the list of questions, at least in the early parts of data collection could be considered “incomplete” or “fluid”.

The interview questions or guide was derived from the literature review, secondary data and in-depth analysis of discourse both academic and in the wider domain of materials covering the issues under exploration. Continued refinement resulted in a set of thematic questions that were applicable to most interviewees, though there were certain questions that only a subset of interviewees (mainly university administrators and finance officers) could answer. Near uniformity is essential in identifying contrasting and consensual

opinions (Turner 2010) but the research approach adopted allowed some flexibility. A careful balance was needed during the individual interviews to manage deviations from intended themes while at the same time allowing the interviewee's story or views on the matter(s) under exploration to develop. This was enabled by deep familiarisation with the questions almost to a point where a physical document was not needed. Due to the calibre of individuals interviewed, the researcher needed to not only be familiar with contemporary developments in the field but also historical antecedents. Continuous reflection occurred through the data collection period and care was taken to make sure that while some new findings at the beginning led to the addition and the removal of some questions to better focus the study, it did not contaminate the process or throw it off course.

The actual interviews lasted an average of fifty minutes, ranging from forty-five minutes for some to up to ninety minutes for others.

The relationship between an interviewee and interviewer is delicate because the interviewer is trying to see the issue from the mindset of the interviewee, be an interrogator and develop a relationship with the interviewee that allows them to loosen up and talk. This was done by making ice-breaking small talk in certain instances, getting right into the question set in other instances. Actions taken were dependent on the individual being interviewed.

Language is the primary tool through which meaning is developed and transmitted and its importance in qualitative inquiry cannot be overstated. In a cross-national study as this, the importance of language (both spoken and unspoken) and how it is used can be the difference between success and failure. While the perception in Scotland is that you might be untruthful if you are not looking at an individual straight in the eyes when having a conversation with them, the opposite holds true when having a conversation with a Nigerian, particularly if it is with an older person. Looking at such a person straight in the eyes is seen as aggressive and disrespectful and it is a sure way to not get your questions answered. Before interviewing the retired senior government

officials that were interviewed, the researcher was coached by contacts on how to address those people and the interviews went well. This highlights the cultural differences between Scotland and Nigeria which comparative researchers need to be aware of.

Ambience or environment in which an interview is conducted might also have an effect on the outcome of the interview. When sending out information sheets and request forms, potential interviews were told that the interview could be held at any time, place or setting of their choosing and as a result, most decided to hold the interviews in their offices, coffee shops; basically, in their own comfort zones. The interviews conducted electronically were also done at the discretion of interviewees.

Interview transcription and data analysis

Each interview was transcribed verbatim by the researcher into Microsoft word documents to enhance the trustworthiness of the qualitative data (Halcomb and Davidson 2006). Transcription involves a direct reproduction of data word-for-word from the audio recordings during the interview process (ibid). The exact reproduction of interview data reflects the undigested complexity of reality and it needs to be coded to be understood and presentable (Patton 2002; Bazeley and Jackson 2013). Word-for-word transcription is important in averting the loss of context.

Transcription verbatim is considered vital in providing proof of the analytical process and in supporting the analytical claims the researcher makes (Halcomb and Davidson 2006). The transcribed data were then uploaded onto NVivo for further analysis. The transcribed interviews and processing within NVivo provides a theoretical audit trail that is data-oriented hence confirmability and dependability of the research are enhanced (Lewins and Silver 2007). Even with data reduction, coding and other actions, the verbatim data is still left in its original form. This allows the researcher to be able to go back at any time and re-establish the context in which an event was talked about. The trail ensures any claims made by the researcher can be verified;

how they interpreted can be confirmed and that they have acted ethically (Bryman and Bell 2003). In qualitative research, the researcher has to demonstrate how the theory was built from data and justify discovery (Creswell 2012; 2014) and taking these steps provides the justification. Consequently, it was important for conclusions reached from primary data to reflect accurately the narrative of the interviewees and for the inputs and inferences of the researcher to provide minimal deviation (Currie 2014).

The transcriptions were typically done the next day after the interview took place or the earliest days possible, in order to keep what was discussed fresh and to see if any adjustments needed to be made to the research instrument in preparation for the next interview. While various speech recognition and automatic transcription software were considered, after consultation with some colleagues and some trial, it was decided that the transcriptions would be done manually. The interviews took on average one day each to transcribe, but it allowed the researcher deep familiarization and immersion with the data. The data was then exported into NVivo.

Analysis with NVivo

Research analysis tools like NVivo serve the purposes of managing data; querying data; managing ideas, visualizing data and reporting from the data (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). NVivo was considered vital due to its functionality of encouraging an exploratory approach in keeping with the norms in qualitative studies (Gibbs 2002). It allows data to be sorted, matched, linked and for research questions to be addressed without losing access to data contexts and sources (Bazeley and Jackson 2013).

After transcribing the interviews, they were imported into NVivo, ready for coding and thematic analysis. NVivo contains tools that can help the researcher test and develop ideas. Rich data is reduced to reveal features of shared and contrasting understanding across experiences through extensive reading and re-reading of data (Butler-Kizber 2010). Thematic analysis is widely used in qualitative studies such as this and involves an inductive exploration of nascent themes which develops descriptions of phenomena, its

nature and assigned meanings (Currie 2014). The emergent themes become categories for analysis.

Priori codes that had been generated from the literature review and secondary data collection were used to start the data analysis process. As more time was spent with the data, other codes pertinent to answering the research questions were generated from relevant themes, common words, phrases and expressions. NVivo was useful in capturing vital data, from single words to sections of the data collected. Both digital post-it notes, and manual ones were used to annotate and create memos to track thought trains and themes. The perusal of the data, both in its Microsoft word format and on NVivo also revealed contrasting or deviant cases or responses where some interviewees responses to some questions are significantly different from conventional common responses to those questions. Sekaran and Bougie (2009) suggest that within qualitative studies, such findings can strengthen the merit of theoretical findings.

6.5. Quality in qualitative studies

Criticisms of the qualitative approach to scientific inquiry include arguments that because of the unfeasibility of a single consensually arrived at account of what reality is in a social context, scientific hallmarks like measurements of validity and reliability can be difficult to achieve (Creswell 2014). Advocates posit that alternative criteria in the forms of authenticity and trustworthiness should be used to measure qualitative research (Butler-Kizber 2010). Justifications for positions taken in this research highlighted in this chapter and throughout the thesis are designed to highlight authenticity and trustworthiness. It is proposed that validity can be inferred from transferability and credibility within trustworthiness, and confirmability and dependability emphasise the reliability of the study (Ibid). How acceptable the study is to its audience will be determined by how credible the researcher's account is (again highlighted by this chapter) and outcomes developed from the findings of the

study. The potential for transferability is offered by how feasible it is to use the rich data or elements of it from and applying it to another study.

The aim of applying a qualitative approach to research of this nature is to get a rich and deep insight into a particular issue (Bryman and Bell 2003), and as long as any part of this research is useful to or adopted by someone then transferability has been achieved. Representativeness, on the other hand, while desirable to a lot of people including policymakers because of its breath is usually lacking in depth and is usually quite difficult to achieve in qualitative studies, particularly ones with limited time and resources such as this (ibid). Despite the above, transferability within qualitative studies is not without problems because of arguments that research of this type only involves specific and detailed analysis of specific issues or persons, making it problematic to propose that findings can be applied to other scenarios or populations (Erlandson et al., 1993). On this debate, Tracy (2010) argues that the potential that any research has in resonating with other situations and contexts amplifies interest in that study and its value and that each unique study or case is likely to be an example of a wider group, hence they should not be immediately discarded. This position resonates with this study because even though Nigeria and Scotland were chosen as case studies, it could easily be Ghana and Canada; and in fact, findings are likely to mirror realities when the university systems in many developing countries are compared with developed countries. Nevertheless, adequate care should be taken to consider context because they usually have implications for outcomes; for example, if this study considered Nigeria and England or Nigeria and Northern Ireland, some findings might remain the same to a lesser extent and some might no longer hold true.

Enlarging the sample (number of interviewees), multiplying the variability of settings and the diversity of participants would enhance transferability (Guba and Lincoln 1985; Marshall and Rossman 2011). This was attempted by for example seeking out participants that did not support current university

education policies in Scotland as described earlier in this chapter but in this research as in any research, time and resources limits mean this can always be improved.

Triangulation

Triangulation is a strategy for validating qualitative research through the use of different or multiple methods, sources, theories, investigators through the provision of corroborating evidence. In this study, triangulation is evident in the sampling strategy with data sought from distinct categories of people who are all likely to be considered experts on the subject matter. Selection of the case study countries and sampling of individuals from all types of universities in the two countries as well as individuals from outside the university sector also shows triangulation. Interviewing retired individuals to obtain longitudinal data also indicates triangulation. These decisions were not made to show congruency of findings but test them with the assumption that irregularities would show a deeper meaning of the data, more understanding of the case studies and in totality increase the validity of the study (Merriam 2009). Findings were contrasted with the existing literature in the field and similarities were established. Nigeria and Scotland were selected to highlight the two major university education administration and finance positions globally but as findings in subsequent chapters would show, particularly for Nigeria, these two contexts mask multiple contexts and how they are viewed holistically depends on who is being questioned and the sum-total of their lived experiences.

Quality criteria in qualitative research

Qualitative quality criteria	Qualitative quality criteria	Qualitative quality criteria	Explanations of quality criteria in qualitative research	Actions taken to achieve quality criteria
Internal validity	Trustworthiness	Credibility	Do the findings match reality and are they believable	Prolonged engagement with themes being explored, the

			<p>(Merriam 2009; Bryman 2012).</p> <p>How rigorousness is ensured in research and how actions taken are communicated to others (Gasson 2004)</p>	<p>university sectors in case study countries and the academic community. Comprehensive information provided and participants are given opportunities not to participate or answer questions they are uncomfortable with. Open enquiry, iterative questioning, data triangulation and thick description.</p>
External validity		Transferability	<p>The extent to which findings are applicable in other contexts and can be used in deriving theories (Gasson 2004; Merriam 2009; Bryman 2012).</p>	<p>Conveyance to the audience of study scope and limitation as well as the identification of themes that are similar like SAPs that are part of theoretical models that overlap different contexts.</p>
Reliability	Authenticity	Consistency	<p>Consistency of results with data collected (Merriam 2009).</p> <p>Will the findings be similar if the same approach is taken</p>	<p>Detailed methodological description of the research process. Availability of transcripts, details of the analysis process and</p>

			at another time? (Bryman 2012)	evidence of a deviation provided in this chapter.
Objectivity	Authenticity	Confirmability	Do conclusions depend on study subjects and conditions, rather than the researcher (Gasson 2004).	Triangulation, reflectiveness, theoretical and data-oriented trail. Self-awareness and recognition of limitation.

Table 6.1 Quality in qualitative research

Adapted from Currie (2014)

6.6. Ethical considerations

Ethics are norms or behavioural standards that guide our choices in our relations with others and its role in research is to ensure no one suffers adverse consequences because of research (Cooper and Schindler 2006). Modern ethical standards guiding research which involves humans include the following codes: voluntary participation, no negative effects to participants as a result of participation, researchers should be adequately trained, results must be unattainable through any alternative methods and should benefit society (Neef et al., 1986). All these have been considered for this research and it has been established that no harm will come to interviewees while the findings of the research will benefit society in general.

An attempt has been made to report everything that happened in this research in line with McNabb (2013)'s position that everything, including things that might negate research aims or render it invalid, should be discussed.

As the research involved both primary and secondary data, informed consent and information sheets forms were availed to all interviewees. This research secured ethical approval from Queen Margaret University. Confidentiality was ensured for all interviewees and transcripts made available to those who want it. Confidentiality refers to data collected that is only available to those

authorized to access and use it, usually just the researcher (Saunders *et al.*, 2012)

The secondary data used in the research was sourced from academic journals, books and credible websites and news sources to assure credibility, appropriate citations and references were used to avoid plagiarism.

A couple of those interviewed voluntarily waived anonymity and it was seriously considered that their names and opinions be published in findings and debated considering one of them was an eminent Professor. The decision taken however was to maintain anonymity for everyone involved in the study because it was felt that there would be a temptation to over-quote this one person over others because of his views on some of the issues under consideration. It was believed that this decision would allow every opinion to be weighted equally and debated on their merits.

6.7. Limitations

In designing any study, there is always likely something left out and not looked at highlighted by the statement earlier that “only a particular part of a thing can be investigated or explored at any particular time”. In the context of this research, the most significant issue not evaluated was living expenses and how this very significant half of the totality of the university expense (at least from the point of view of the student) is funded. Various scholars argue that this is more important than tuition, though that argument is open to debate and is highly contextual. This decision to not include expenses was taken for multiple reasons. Its inclusion is beyond what can possibly be achieved within the resources and time constraints of a PhD, because of the multiplicity of ways in which this is funded, and lack of data particularly for Nigeria. This is an area that can be explored in-depth in future studies because it would complete the picture of the current state of university education finance, drivers and implications for access.

Another limitation is the fact that most of the interviews with Nigerians were not done face-to-face. Tentative plans were made to go and collect data from

Nigeria physically, but constant strike actions and limited resources meant this was not feasible. Face-to-face “natural” encounters are important in generating rich qualitative data and the rapport and intimacy developed provides opportunities to probe and gain insights that can be gained through other sources (Creswell 2012). To mitigate the drawbacks, in as many interviews as possible, video interviews over WhatsApp video, Skype and Facebook messenger video were conducted but there were still a few that had to be conducted over the telephone. Resources and time constraints meant these were the only options available.

The research could also have benefited from involving politicians and potentially students but as described earlier, logistical and theoretical reasons meant, this was not feasible.

The research could also have benefitted from involving a greater number of participants, but time constraints meant this was not feasible.

This study is mainly exploratory with a focus of theory generation due to scant empirical studies in the comparative context it has explored. Deductive approaches can be applied to future research.

It is also vital to note that findings involve the perceptions of purposefully selected individuals on the themes being explored and the research was designed this way due to the complexities involved in comparative studies and to generate rich contextual data.

6.8. Researcher positioning: The native researcher

For all the theoretical and practical justifications provided in this chapter and the thesis, the choices and decisions made are also rather personal. Engaging in research, choosing the topic and the case studies and the philosophical worldview are all personal decisions. Consequently, the position of the researcher, how it impacts the research and the benefits to the researcher being an insider or an outsider and impacts these have on the study are valid questions (Banks 1998). In cross-cultural research, factors which influence the positionality of the researcher include; the level of socialisation within

communities and indigeneity (ibid). The researcher is Nigerian but has lived in Scotland since January 2013, so based on Bank (1998)'s typology spectrum of cross-cultural researchers, the researcher can be considered an "indigenous insider" with regards to Nigeria and an indigenous outsider with regards to Scotland. Though, having not visited Nigeria since 2013, it can also be argued that the researcher is out-socialized and positioning on Nigeria is perhaps that of an indigenous outsider or in the spectrum between both ends. Alternative expressions used by other scholars include "partial insiders" and total insiders" based on shared experiences and identity (Innes 2009; Currie 2014).

The background and identity of the researcher were obvious and made explicit to the interviewees due to the social contacts (snowball sampling) that facilitated the interviews. This emphasised the legitimacy of the researcher and established rapport early on. This echo's Bank's (1998) argument that the benefit of the researcher being an insider is that it allows for closeness between interviewer and interviewee. Concerns raised about the interviewer being an insider centre on subjectivity and the ability of an "insider" researcher to be objective and accurate (Banks 1998). Nevertheless, insider research holds unique benefits because it affords unique methodological advantages and understanding of the "native's" point of view and the context in which it is provided allows a better story to be told and makes for better science (Currie 2014).

As earlier discussed, certain ways of conduct like eye contact, for example, is different in Nigeria and Scotland. It can be the difference between success and failure and it is the insider perspective held by the researcher in the two contexts that yield this knowledge. Understanding the local idiosyncrasies, how people make sense of things and the context in which they do is also enabled by the insider perspective. An outsider could be a very skilled researcher, but lack of local knowledge will likely derail the research particularly in the fixed time and resource context of a PhD.

The analysis process, already discussed in depth highlights how objectivity was built into this study, mitigating concerns by criticisms of insider research that the researcher's personal opinions and impulsive conclusions can blight research (Mercer 2007). The researcher was acutely aware of the "insider" positionality. Critical reflection and other actions including transcribing all interviews the day after in order to ensure freshness and individual reflection before moving on was done to ensure only the interviewee's opinions mattered.

6.9. Summary

In this chapter, theoretical assumptions held, and research design positions taken by the researcher in order to execute the aims and objectives of this research in the context of the theoretical framework developed have been analyzed. This study explores developments in university education funding and management in the context of NPM, user charges and implications for access in a developing and developed country context with a focus on Nigeria and Scotland.

In contrast to conventional methods in policy evaluation research which often adopt positivist strategies, justifications are provided as to why an alternative strategy is adopted in this study.

In order to generate rich contextual data, purposeful and snowball sampling and semi-structured interviews with academics, university administrators and public-sector officials in Nigeria and Scotland were the specific methods of data collection adopted. Quality in qualitative research with an emphasis on authenticity and trustworthiness justified by triangulation, critical reflection and detailed account of how the research was conducted is provided. The positioning of the researcher, how it might affect the research or benefit it was also provided. Limitations and potential areas of future research to build on this study were also briefly highlighted.

The next chapter presents research findings and demonstrates how the theoretical and practical steps discussed in this chapter were applied.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS: USER CHARGES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS

7.0. Introduction

The previous chapters have covered an introduction, which provided aims, objectives and an overview of the research; a literature review, detailing literature that builds up this study and critically reviews previous studies related to the themes this study examines; and a methodology chapter, detailing how the research was carried out and underlying philosophical assumptions. This chapter and the next present, analyse and discuss the research findings within the primary data collected which are considered vital in achieving the aims and objectives of this research.

The rationale for this is based on the research objectives laid out in chapter one which are: (1) perspectives of marketisation with emphasis on user charges in university education in Nigeria and Scotland and implications it has for access held by those working in university education; (2) critical consideration of the extent to which the policies, including the use of charges, can be considered similar in the context of NPM theory which is considered relatively global; (3) evaluation of drivers, justifications and suitability of marketisation reforms. This chapter achieves these research objectives.

The next chapter (8), presents and analyses data to establish the extent to which university education in target locations can be considered marketized by evaluating the extent to which features of New Public Management (NPM) described by Hood (1991) can be considered present in university education and the wider implications these have for the sector comparatively. Based on the framework in chapter 2, figure 1, this is considered as a measure of marketisation.

Interviewees profile and data organisation

The thirty-five interviewees involved in this study are referred to and quoted as “participants” (P1- P35). The term “participants” is used in contrast to the term “respondents” due to the collaborative interviewing relationship adopted in this study, as well as in the tradition of the semi-structured interview approach which allowed participants to contribute expansively (Roller 2016).

Four women academics (two Nigerian-based and two UK-based) were interviewed while the rest were men. This was influenced by the snowball sampling approach. Three Nigerian participants work in private universities while the rest are from public universities. Three UK participants are from pre-1992 universities and the rest are from post-1992 universities. Those interviewed in both countries included academics, administrators and public sector employees whose briefs included education.

For data presentation and analysis, the order of interviews has been re-arranged as highlighted in the table below as; P1 to P17 being Nigerians, P18-P35 being Scottish or UK based. As discussed in the methodology chapter, sampling was purposive and snowballing, as various individuals who could provide answers to the research questions were sought out. It was expected that academics would be able to provide some answers while administrators would be able to answer different questions, and this proved to be the case with some academics earlier on in the data collection process referring the investigator to university finance officers and secretaries based on some lines of questioning without being solicited.

For presentation, participants P1 to P10 are Nigerian academics and indicated by NA1 to NA10 as the table below shows. Participants P11 to P17 are university administrators and public-sector employees and indicated as NO11 to NO17. Similarly, Participants P18 to P31 are Scotland based academics while participants P32 to P35 are administrators.

Country	Classification for academics	Classification for university administrators and public officers
Nigeria	NA1-NA10	NO11-NA17
Scotland	SA18-SA31	SO32-SO35

Table 7.1

Participant's classification

Based on NPM and neoliberal-type policies including the use of charges as analysed in chapter 2, section 5, differences between countries as seemingly different as Nigeria and Scotland should not matter. Marketisation policies are applicable in all contexts. Based on the above, the questions this chapter answers using university education, user charges (considered a strong indicator of marketisation and a NPM approach), and access include; are these policies really universal; what are the implications of adopting this approach to university education in a developed and developing country context; and what are the implications this has for access?

The next section (7.1) evaluates the legal status of universities, the implications this has for funding and the relationship between universities and the government.

7.1. University education in Scotland (Legal status)

Unlike universities in Nigeria which are either considered public sector organisations (State and Federal) or private institutions, Scottish universities do not have such clear delineations and are not considered public sector organisations or private sector organisations. They are instead considered and registered as charities. This was confirmed by (SO32, SO33 and SO34) who are all university administrators as well as (SA21, SA22, SA27, SA28 and SA30) who are all academics. All other Scotland-based respondents

suggested as much by highlighting that Scottish universities do not get all or most of their funding from the government despite the tuition policy in place which would be discussed subsequently.

It is important to classify Scottish universities because of the comparative context of this research and its audience which is multi-national, because while it might be common knowledge in Scotland that universities are registered charities, what this means, and its implications might not be known outside Scotland. Below is a quote from SO32, a university administrator on the legal status of Scottish universities.

“We, (Scottish universities) were not all created as charities, that happened a while back, (X) university was created as an act of parliament. The reason for this (charitable legal status) is because they (universities) get tax relief and are not treated as corporations for tax purposes. Most universities have subsidiary companies which do their trading and the subsidiary gifts the profits to the university. The government is happy with that”

It was vital to ask this question and present findings because of the comparative nature of this study because Nigerian universities operate under different legal frameworks. It was also important to present the findings because of the “why” question which as explained above is for taxation purposes. The extent to which Nigerian universities can leverage and enjoy the benefits of their legal status as Scottish universities appear to do was considered important.

In the context of the analytical framework adopted for this research provided in chapter 2, figure 1, the status of universities as charities exemplifies an NPM or neoliberal approach to service delivery.

University education in Nigeria: Legal status

Nigerian participants were also asked about the legal frameworks in which universities operate. While Scottish universities are considered charities, as described in chapter 5, section 3, three types of universities exist in Nigeria and they are, Federal universities, State and private Universities. The State and Federal government universities are under the control of the State and Federal governments respectively. The private universities, on the other hand, a significant percentage of which were established by religious organisations are all for-profit institutions. While faith-based organisations in some places might suggest free or subsidised service provision, this is not the case in Nigeria and some of the universities established by faith-based organisations charge the highest fees as highlighted in chapter 5, section 3.

In common with findings on the legal status of Scottish universities, the legal status of respective Nigerian universities is openly accessible knowledge. The State and Federal universities usually have the designation of State or Federal in their current or former names.

Up until 1999, which is the year democratic governance was restored to Nigeria after decades of almost uninterrupted military rule, the university sector in Nigeria was characterised by what Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2011) described as a government monopoly as analysed in chapter 2, which is a feature of Weberian PA.

Since 1999, the numbers of private institutions have grown to surpass the numbers of public institutions. This development is emblematic of the NPM approach to service delivery which involves service provision by a mixture of private, public and third-sector organisations which are in competition and are supposed to provide service users choice, quality and value for money, as highlighted on the analytical framework. The extent to which service users can exercise this choice based on user charges is subsequently analysed.

Another development which will be discussed in the next chapter is another dimension to public and private provision of university education and this is the fact that a considerable number of Nigerians now travel abroad to access university education. This serves as a point of intersectionality between the university systems in developed and developing nations in what literature reviewed in chapter 5, and subsequent findings suggest is a one-directional flow. This is considered in the context of dependency theory.

Comparing the legal frameworks in which universities operate in Nigeria and Scotland

Given the timeframe in which the university sector in Nigeria evolved from being dominated by a government monopoly to being deregulated and the coincidence of a return to democratic governance identified, it can be argued that there are potential links between NPM or market-type deregulatory reforms and the developments in university education in Nigeria which has seen the entry of private for-profit providers.

The legal frameworks in which universities operate in Scotland does not appear to have changed much in recent times apart from some post-1992 institutions achieving university status and adopting a charitable status. The university sector in Scotland has never been under a government monopoly.

As a developed country and part of the UK, which is one of the most high-profile promoters of a market approach provision to service delivery, particularly during former Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's years and her promotion of the TINA principle discussed in chapter 3, it would be expected that the university sector would feature private providers which are characteristic of market-based service delivery as highlighted by the analytical framework.

Evaluating the legal status of Scottish universities using quasi-market literature including Le Grand (2006; 2011) which indicated that service providers could have the same legal structures, provided other market features like the

competition is engineered still locates the legal status of Scottish universities within the NPM framework.

As the data shows, the reason for the charitable legal structure of Scottish universities is to ensure they do not pay taxes on business activities. How does this compare to Nigeria, given that there are private universities?

The provisions of section 23(1) (c) of the Companies Income Tax Act, Cap C.21, Laws of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (LFN) 2007 (as amended) ('CITA') guarantees that any organisation engaged in charitable, ecclesiastical or educational activities of a public character, provided that such profits are derived from a business or trade engaged in by such organisation shall be exempt from taxation (Deloitte 2018). This indicates that the private universities in Nigeria, as well as the public ones, do not pay taxes if the conditions above are met.

The legal frameworks within which university systems in both countries exist can be said to exist within the NPM framework. They both enjoy tax relief from the government.

The next sections explore the tuition policies in place in Nigeria and Scotland and examine the use of user charges for undergraduate tuition for students classed as home students.

7.2. Tuition policy in Scotland

This section answers the "what" question. The current university education tuition policy in Scotland is one of free tuition for eligible students that meet certain residency requirements. Participants (SA18-SO34) all confirmed this. This is information that was cited in the literature review and is readily available from Universities Scotland, Student Awards Agency, Scotland (SAAS) and the universities.

To allow for more expansive responses from participants, the question asked was; if university education was available at costs most Scottish residents

could afford? While all participants responded as above, all were quick to qualify by saying that while in Scotland, the policy on tuition is that of no tuition for those classed as home students, living expenses which can be significant are funded by one of, or a combination of loans, means-tested grants (which are continually declining) family contributions and part-time work. Some responses to the question posed are found below.

“We, (Scottish Government) cover the tuition fees but what we have not done so well is cover the living costs. We have on paper, a system which for students on very low incomes gives them a reasonable combination of grants and loans. For some students, that is fine because they are willing to borrow” (SA20)

“The answer to that is slightly complicated. On the one hand, the Scottish Government has a policy that at least for Scots and the EU students, full-time undergraduate education the first time around should be tuition-free, no charges. That, of course, does not mean that there is no cost to accessing HE because you still have to keep yourself alive for four years with no income or only part-time income at best. So Scottish students do end up with quite significant debts to repay to the SAAS for maintenance loans”.

Participants commented on the significance of living expenses and there were debates on what was more important? Living expenses or tuition, with the main talking points being that, Scotland does not appear to compare well with England, where tuition is charged on issues of getting the poorest people into universities. Going back to the research questions and the scope of the research with its focus exclusively on tuition for undergraduate students classed as home students and not living expenses, the direction the interviewees took the research falls out of the research scope.

Given the comparative nature of this study and the differences in tuition policies already established from the literature reviewed in chapter 5, and which will be subsequently expanded on with findings, it was important to ask this question due to differences in policy and implications. The comments touch on issues that have attracted significant academic and non-academic interest from the likes of Edinburgh University's Professor Sheila Riddell and Lucy Hunter-Blackburn. This can form an area of future research using the methods adopted in this study.

Nevertheless, a follow-up question that was posed to the participants who expressed this view was, "with the grant system in England also almost entirely abolished and replaced with loans; what system are they really comparing the Scottish system to, and are students better off with just their living expenses to pay back (Scottish system) or both tuition and living expenses (English system)?"

While this is a live issue in academic and professional circles, particularly on the debates between government-funded and consequently capped systems as is the case in Scotland and loan funded, uncapped systems as is the case in England. The extent to which this is a practical issue for the wider population could not be established.

One of the interviewees who was conducting research in this area suggested as much by indicating that people tend to think relatively and that when they compare total debt of England based students to Scotland based students, on the issue of tuition, the assumption is that the Scottish system is fairer. It was indicated that the issues driving the debates are that the poorer students end up with more debt from loans for living expenses while the richer students can be subsidized by their parents and end up with nothing to pay back at the end of their degrees. Again, the extent to which this is an issue outside academic and professional circles, particularly in the relative context of the policy in England would require further research because it does not fall within the scope of this study.

Putting the findings and analysis above in the context of the theoretical framework adopted in this research which emphasizes various approaches to PA and service delivery, on the issue of charging for tuition, it appears that the Scottish approach is grounded in bureaucratic PA or DA which favours state intervention. It can be argued that the state is significantly intervening by its policy of not charging tuition and is not letting a market operate. This is in opposition to the market-based view of service provision as analysed in the literature review, and as evident in the analytical framework which does not favour state intervention.

Based on NPM, market-type approach to service delivery, it is not expected that Scotland as a developed country, relative to developing countries would have this approach to university education funding.

Analysing the sector based on Le Grand (2011)'s description of quasi-markets where customers or end users are afforded choice with the government still solely or mainly responsible for covering charges however, suggests that it is possible to class the Scottish university sector as one that operates within an NPM framework.

Due to the boundaries of this research with its focus mainly on tuition with living expenses considered in a limited context, the line of inquiry on living expenses or the merits of the State funding tuition at the expense of living expenses and vice versa was not taken any further with participants. However, it is recommended as an area of future research because it paints a more complete picture of university education funding.

Another reason why this is not further explored is that, evaluating the various many ways in which living expenses are covered in Nigeria would make this study too complex to complete within the resources and time available for this study.

Tuition policy in Nigeria

As identified in chapter 5 section 3, the three types of universities that exist in Nigeria are Federal and State universities, which are under the control of respective governments, and private universities. Nigerian participants were asked about tuition policy in the Nigerian university sector and responses are summarised below and evaluated with secondary data and the framework.

Private universities do not receive any direct subsidies from the government and since they are for-profit institutions, however, as earlier indicated, being organisations that provide a service with a public interest, they do not pay tax. They charge their customers (students) a premium which covers all aspects of the tuition they receive. The Government universities were traditionally heavily subsidised with the State universities charging a nominal fee on average and the Federal universities waiving charges for tuition in total. This is no longer the case as highlighted in chapter 5, section 3, with some of the State universities now charging what covers the whole cost of tuition students receive and the Federal ones introducing charges for tuition.

In England and Scotland, uniform fees are charged by universities for undergraduate courses; or courses in particular bands attract the same funding respectively. In Nigeria, different universities set their charges at a local level. Fee information sourced from the websites of several universities indicates that Federal universities now charge between N25000-N70000 per year (£50-£70), while charges in the State universities range from N25,000 to over N300,000 (£50-£800). While these charges might appear nominal to a non-Nigerian audience, when considered from a Nigerian context where the government minimum wage is N18,000/month (£32), the average family has over five children and the fact that 62.6% of the population live in poverty which is defined as those living on less than \$1.25/day, then the charges do not appear so nominal (Saint et al., 2003; NBS 2017).

Private universities charge a premium for the services they offer because they receive no government subsidy. Private universities charge between N200,000-N3,500,000 depending on the university and the course. Private universities are discussed in detail subsequently.

Other relevant data which puts the analysis done above into context is that figures from (JAMB) and (NBS) show that 11,703,709 candidates applied for admissions into HE institutions in Nigeria and 2,674,485 candidates were admitted between 2010 and 2016. This represents admission rates of 23% (NBS 2017).

The findings above on tuition policy in Nigeria conforms to the changes expected in funding and administering service delivery organisations based on literature reviewed including Larbi (1999), Ochwa-Echel (2013) etc. which emphasize increasing use of charges for services that were formerly free or heavily subsidized as highlighted in the analytical framework in figure 2.1. and 8.2. The data provided here conforms with secondary data provided on tuition policies in Nigeria and Scotland and have been discussed in chapter 5. To allow for more expansive responses, the issue discussed with participants emphasized affordability and this is discussed next.

7.3. The concept of access and affordability in university education

Accessibility in education refers to ensuring every individual who is entitled to education receives it (UNESCO 2000). Accessibility in HE means ensuring equitable access to tertiary institutions on the basis of merit, efforts, capacity and perseverance (ibid).

Given there is no credit or grants system operating within HE in Nigeria as described in chapter 5, section 4., and the subjective nature of the methodological approach adopted within this study, as well as the professional nature of participants, participants responses on the idea of affordability is

contextualised with secondary data, the analytical framework and available statistics on poverty, wage levels etc. and taken as a unit of measurement.

The context of none of these individuals being classed as poor is considered. Due to purposeful sampling considerations, individuals who were senior academics, administrators and public-sector employees were interviewed. None of these individuals could be classed as being among the 62.5% of Nigerians living in poverty according to NBS (2017). A number of these individuals suggested that they had children who had or were attending private universities or even foreign ones. It is important to provide this distinction because while issues of affordability are likely to affect the poorest in society, the inclusion criteria meant the poorest people were not included in the study. However, as the data presented below shows, even the participants, despite their characteristics were critical of issues of affordability and access in Nigeria.

While accessing participants' economic status based on the analysis above might appear rudimentary to a UK based audience because official data exists on the socio-economic status of individuals based on their income levels or benefits that they access, no such data exists in Nigeria. This is one of the benefits of conducting a comparative study because it allows researchers and their audiences to immerse themselves in contexts different from what they are familiar with and highlights areas of potential lesson learning.

In the context of earlier information provided on demographic information on Nigeria including minimum wages, average family sizes, demand for education, cost of university education etc. participants were asked if university education was affordable for the average Nigerian. Given earlier NBS statistics provided which suggests that over 60% of the population live on less than \$1.25/day, the average Nigerian, in this case, would refer to individuals in this category. Proper consideration will be given to private institutions and how they compare access-wise to public institutions subsequently.

The discussions above are evidenced by quotes from the interviews including those provided below:

“HE is not affordable for everyone. It is affordable for certain people, depending on social/economic status (NA2)”

“Cost of everything, including education has risen and most families can hardly afford it. Fees have risen as well as other expenses. Many parents must go out of their way and sell whatever they have as property and get loans from friends or banks to finance the education of their wards. In fact, some sell everything they have (NA5)”

“It is more expensive than what most citizens can afford.

As you know, what you pay depends on if you go to a State, Federal or private university.

I watched a program recently where students in federal universities who pay the least were complaining that they could not afford current fees. This goes in line with parental income which does not match fees charged. Unlike in the UK where students can work part-time, this is not really feasible for students, so everything is dependent on parental income (NO11)”

“It varies on whether it is government universities or private universities, private universities are expensive, but I think prices are reasonable in government universities (NO13)”

“There are Federal, State and private universities which charge very high fees. In our own generation (the 1960s and 1970s) there was a very high subsidy which is not the case now because the government cannot cope with funding HE with the numbers attending university. In most cases now, parents must contribute, one way or another. There used to be bursaries and scholarships which made it easy for students

to finish. They do not exist anymore in any significant form. We still have bursaries and scholarships, but they are inadequate and do not go to those who need it the most (NA4)”

“In the old days there were scholarships available at various levels from individuals and organizations to children who made good grades but most of these have dried up. That is the problem. The family you come from and affordability should not be the conditions for accessing university but that is the reality now (NA6)”

“I would not say it is available at costs most citizens can afford because the cost of education in Nigeria is very high, and I would say that with my own personal experience; if you’re from a family of civil servants and get paid the average wages public officers get, approximately half of a year’s salary goes to tuition and in a typical Nigerian family where you have between three and six children on average, it becomes clear it is largely unaffordable (NA10)”

What do these individuals mean by these comments and how does the data relate to existing literature?

Firstly, all the comments above indicate a direct financial burden to consumers (students) with regards to tuition which is not the case in Scotland.

Going by the research framework and the definitions of market systems which exist within NPM or marketized systems, which Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2006; 2011) refer to as “quasi-markets, which were identified for Scotland and England, it appears that such a system and its outcome is not evident in Nigeria. The quasi-markets described by the scholars above are competitive systems which are supposed to provide choice, but in which end users are still not directly liable for fees, at least in the short term.

Literature reviewed in chapter 5 section 3, including Okebukola (2006); Bamiro (2012) and Ogunyinka (2014) all describe a tuition system where students and

their families are directly responsible for funding all aspects of university education and mention no loans or grants schemes backed by the government as it exists in places like England where tuition is also charged. The literature reviewed in this thesis on HE funding in Nigeria appears to back up the data sourced from participants when evaluated with available socio-economic statistics. The researcher is unaware of any literature that contradicts the sentiments of participants on this issue.

Evaluating this with the analytical framework developed suggests a market, however when the caveat of quasi-markets for a service like university education based on Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2011) is considered, the tuition system in Nigeria does not appear to fit in with the NPM framework of a multiplicity of competitive service providers, but where all qualified candidates can still access the service they need. It appears that the market system in Nigeria functions like a pure market. This will be discussed in detail later.

Data from JAMB and NBS (2017) provides the numbers of candidates that miss out on admissions by indicating that on average, one in four secure places, however, no such data exists for the numbers that miss out because they cannot afford to pay the tuition charged by universities because data on an individual's socio-economic circumstances are unavailable. This shows the importance of this research, and also why the qualitative methods adopted in this research are adopted.

On "affordability", everyone interviewed said they felt the cost of university education was spiralling out of control and was no longer affordable to the average Nigerian. In discussing this issue, most were referring to tuition and not living expenses which have also been on the rise since a lot of Nigerian universities are situated in remote areas and most students live away from home.

The discussions were also usually about the government administered universities, that is, the State and Federal Government universities. Federal

Government universities did not charge tuition until recently but all of them now charge varying tuition fees ranging from about N20000 to about N70000 based on a review of some of the university websites conducted in December 2017. This does not include other non-tuition levies and living expenses which are significantly more than tuition.

These depend on if the student can secure accommodation in the university halls of residence or they are living and private accommodation.

Other factors identified by participants include the State or Region in which the student is studying. A student is likely to pay multiples of what they would pay in the Northern States excluding Abuja in a state like Lagos due to relative differences in expenses in accommodation, just like London is considered more expensive to study in than other areas in the UK. All these put in the context of the public sector minimum wage which is N18000/month and the indeterminable private sector average wages; the average number of children per family means affordability of university education, even in the relatively cheap Government universities is becoming out of reach for the average Nigerian.

In States like Lagos and Ogun, the state universities there in the space of two years in the late 2000s raised tuition by over 1000% as indicated in chapter 5, section 3. While there were students who struggled to pay tuition of N14000 at Olabisi Onabanjo University in 2006 for example, those same students had to contend with tuition of N140000 by 2008 (Shaba 2014). This can simply not be accounted for by inflation because the Federal minimum wage at this time was N9000/month or about £20 and did not change till 2010 (ibid). While the introduction of such charges in places like Scotland is likely to be backed by loans, grants and exemptions, this is not the case in Nigeria and fees usually have to be paid before the end of the academic year based on information available on the respective university websites.

It is important to note here that despite the findings and analysis here, no participant suggested that universities raised enough money from charging students that allowed them to compete internationally. This might have more to do with the fact that the revenue-raising activities of most Nigerian universities is primarily focussed on tuition, compared to other activities discussed in chapter 5, section 1, in Ziderman and Albrecht (1995)'s models of university funding illustrated in figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 which indicated other avenues for universities to raise funds. The issues raised by participants were that while charges have increased which has made universities inaccessible to the average Nigerian, this mainly covers salaries and keep the universities open and has little impact on improving quality. It was emphasised that public universities need more funds to address quality.

Private universities, on the other hand, charge what they need to provide a certain level of perceptible quality as indicated by participants. While quality is important, the main issue for this thesis and this chapter is accessibility. Quality, potentially in relation to charges can form an area of future study.

Due to the comparatively high tuition charged in private universities, the theme of affordability being addressed in this section, and the social implications of a certain type of education (private) being accessible to a small percentage of the population; participants were questioned on private university education in Nigeria and their responses are presented and discussed below.

7.4. Private universities in Nigeria

As discussed in chapter 5, section 3, private universities have become a feature of the university landscape in Nigeria since 1999 and there are now over 55 private universities. Since they receive no direct subsidy from the Government, they charge a premium which ranges from N200,000-N3,500,000/year (£400-£7000/year) based on information available from the university websites, in a country where the minimum wage is N18,000/month, high numbers live in poverty and families have a high number of children. Participants were asked if these institutions were accessible to most Nigerians and some of their responses include the following:

“Private universities are not for everyone (NA2)”

“Private universities are only there for those that can afford it. However, when you look at the low quality in some of the public universities and the incessant strike actions which means some students spend up to 8 years for 4-year courses, parents who can afford it would do all they can to ensure that their children go to private universities. That is not to say all the private universities are of good quality (NO16)”

“In a small developing country like Nigeria, it would be possible to have only a few universities because of the economies of scale in higher education provision which is high. In the case of Nigeria, I would have thought there would be good universities and competitive pressure. In any emerging market with new institutions, there are problems, the question is whether the problems are sufficient enough to result in suppression of quality. I tend to feel that however imperfect they are, markets are usually better than the absence of markets (SO35)”

Nigerian participants here categorically state that privately provided services which they perceive to be of better quality than the publicly provided services are only available to people that can pay for it and not for everyone. Existing literature reviewed in chapter 5, section 3, including Ajayi and Ekundayo (2008), Ogunyinka (2014) and Bamiro (2012) back up these comments.

Given the profile of Nigeria provided earlier with most of the population living in poverty, high rates of unemployment, government minimum wage of N18,000/ month (£35), high birth rates, lack of welfare system and a lack of dedicated loans, grants system for education, the sentiments of these participants which were echoed by all other participants on general accessibility into the private universities is again backed up by the literature reviewed including those mentioned above.

Going back to the analytical framework and in particular, the literature on deregulation, privatisation, quasi-markets and NPM including Hood (1991), Falconer (1997), Larbi (1999), and Le Grand (2011), private provision of services is meant to diversify provision of services away from government monopoly which should provide competition, quality and choice for service users. Nowhere in the literature on the themes indicated above does it say, the provision of a service in a particular way (private) will mean it will only be affordable to a small section of society, thereby disenfranchising a significant section of residents.

Evidence from Nigeria suggests that this is not the case and outcomes for accessibility do not match literature reviewed or the outcomes in Scotland. In the UK, particularly in England which has private universities, deregulation has been followed by regulations on maximum charges, currently set at £9250 per year for 2018. Candidates who wish to attend private universities can also access government grants and loans that candidates attending universities with different legal structures can attend.

In Nigeria, loans and grants do not exist and there are no regulations or guidance from regulators on the maximum that private universities can charge. Given socio-economic data on the country provided, this restricts access to those who can afford it.

On this theme and the differences between Nigeria and Scotland, a UK participant (SO35) already identified as a former policy advisor to a Former UK Prime Minister and who is also a subject expert on quasi-markets had the following to say:

“On the question of ability to pay, I like the English loan system. By which you have income contingent loans so that people can take loans and only have to pay them back if their subsequent graduate income is sufficiently high enough”

Participant (SO35)'s comments, along with Saint et al., (2003)'s comments that Nigerians can be grouped and charged on a sliding scale, as well as Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997)'s assertion that they believe where possible, everything that can be charged should be charged all sound theoretically good.

In practice and outcomes, while SO35 might like the English system with charges backed by loans, this is not a policy that can be used in Nigeria now, or in the near future because the institutional capability to anchor such a system does not currently exist as indicated by all Nigerian participants who were pressed on this issue, including a former Director of Public Service Reforms in the Federal government. This is the same reason why Saint et al. (2003)'s suggestion is not feasible.

Everything that can be charged is indeed charged in Nigeria as suggested by Bird and Tsiopoulos's (1997) paper on charging. This includes university education and as findings in this chapter have revealed, this likely means that a considerable proportion of the population is disenfranchised.

SO35 suggested that he expected a "small" country like Nigeria to have a small number of universities due to economies of scale and challenges of establishing new institutions in emerging markets were mentioned as well as the relationship with quality. Nigeria does have over 100 universities excluding polytechnics and colleges of education as established in chapter 5 and in under 20 years, private institutions have grown exponentially. Issues of quality due to the resources required to set up a university and the regulatory environment in Nigeria is acknowledged but quality issues fall out of the scope of this study and can be addressed in future studies.

Nevertheless, this deregulated approach to public service delivery which in this case is university education, away from government monopoly in service delivery is a significant feature of NPM and marketized service delivery as described by Hood (1991); Falconer (1997); Larbi (1999) amongst others.

As established in this section, charges and private provision of university education is identified for Nigeria and conforms to what is expected of a PA

and service delivery system operating under an NPM or market-based approach as highlighted in the analytical framework.

The profile of participants earlier provided indicated that none of them could be considered poor, however, the overwhelming similarities in responses about how unaffordable university education has become, shows that responses for the poorest in society will likely be similar. Nevertheless, a future study that involves people of lower socio-economic status is encouraged in the future to confirm the findings here.

7.5. Comparing tuition policies, affordability and evidence of marketisation and NPM in Nigeria and Scotland.

The policy in Scotland is to charge no tuition for students classed as home students. This is symptomatic of the Weberian approach to PA and service delivery and conforms with Zideman and Albrecht (1995)'s financing model illustrated in figure 5.1. in which the government is directly responsible for funding students through different mechanisms. Going by the definition of quasi-markets, the Scottish system could also be described as a quasi-market where the Government is still responsible for funding the system but in which other benefits of market-based provision including choice can be enjoyed by customers.

From the narrow viewpoint of charges and how this affects affordability or access, the evidence thus far indicates that the tuition policy in Scotland has no negative implications for access and it is affordable for all those who are qualified, have an interest in accessing university education and meet the residency criteria.

It should be noted that the conclusion above is reached by only considering the relationships between the tuition policy, absence of charges for tuition and the condition that the population being evaluated meets the criteria to be

classed as home students. There are very many factors which can affect access to university education and this is acknowledged. Living expenses which were pointed out by many of the participants are significant and so are many other socio-economic factors. Given the narrow scope of this study and this chapter, with its emphasis on presence or absence of charges as evidence of marketisation and NPM, the conclusion on Scotland is that there are no negative implications for access based on a policy of no tuition.

Nigeria, on the other hand, has a decentralised policy of charges in all universities. Unlike the system in Scotland, each university sets its own charges for various programs. The university sector in Nigeria can best be described, based on the literature reviewed and the primary data, as one that operates in a pure market system and not quasi-markets as defined by the likes of Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2011). This assertion is made on the assumption that the only barrier to access is financial. While to significantly different extents, some of the Government universities, particularly the Federal ones are still subsidized, accessibility is increasingly based on the ability to pay.

The system in Nigeria with charges, significantly varied choice and arguable efficiency in some universities, provided the customers are able and are willing to pay the price conforms with the view of NPM and a marketized approach to service delivery in which competitive services are provided in a deregulated system as shown by the literature and the analytical framework.

In considering charges as the significant feature of NPM and a marketized system, the evidence here suggests that this is not evident in Scotland while in Nigeria, it not only exists, but it exists in a form that is not accounted for in most of the literature reviewed, which are mainly European and American. A pure market for service delivery is not captured the European or Western view of NPM literature as evidenced by the likes of Falconer (1997), Le Grand (2011) and most of the literature reviewed. This is because most of the

literature only considers competitive service provision where qualified and entitled people can still access services through loans, grants, exemption systems or social welfare systems.

This is important because it shows a gap in the literature on a seemingly global phenomenon like NPM or a marketized approach to service delivery which potentially impacts most nations, including the developing and developed ones.

Comparing perceptions of affordability

All Nigerian participants indicated that university education was increasingly unaffordable, particularly to the poorest in society. Contemporary literature supports this view, particularly when considered in the context of available socio-economic data. The researcher is unaware of any literature that contradicts this view. While demand has unexpectedly not dropped according to conventional economic rules, this is reasonably explained by NBS and JAMB statistics which indicated that less than one in four candidates secure admission. The implications of this are that within the 75% that do not secure admissions yearly, there would be some that can afford to pay anything that universities charge.

Scottish participants did not speak in similar, near absolute terms. From a tuition fee perspective for “home” undergraduate students which is the focus of this study, the issue of affordability does not arise because of the policy of zero tuition for home students. This shows significant differences in policy, practice and outcomes despite perceptions of public services in many countries supposedly operating under a uniform framework like NPM.

The analytical framework which is based developments in PA which covers Weberian PA and NPM does not capture the university education funding system in Nigeria and its implications for affordability within the scope of what this study examines. The framework, however, adequately covers the Scottish

university education funding system by locating it within Weberian PA or quasi-markets under NPM as described by Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2011).

In view of the above, this research also serves the purpose of further highlighting the challenges of promoting and adopting policies that produce seemingly different outcomes in different environments and perhaps calls for a need for policies to be set locally to address local needs, devoid of external influence.

The next section considers the drivers of tuition policies and attempts to establish evidence of policy transfer.

7.6. Drivers of tuition policies and the policy transfer link

Scotland

As analysed in chapter 3, section 1, apart from cases of lesson learning where a policy is explicitly copied because there are perceptions that it will be useful in another location, it is difficult to identify policy transfer because most countries do not go about advertising that they copied policies from another country. While in the cases like European Union policies, it is easier to identify common policies and their origins, the divergence in educational policy within Europe and even within the UK shows that there is no policy transfer or lesson learning with regards to tuition policies.

Nevertheless, due to the professional nature of participants and the fact that most of them were subject experts, they were invited to discuss the drivers of tuition policies in the countries being evaluated and to potentially identify potential policy transfer by indicating where there was evidence that local policies had been externally influenced.

As indicated earlier, the tuition policy for undergraduate university students of a certain age attending their first higher education institution and meeting certain residency requirements is one of free tuition. This has been the policy

adopted by the Scottish National Party (SNP). This is illustrated by the figure below which shows the former Scottish First Minister, Alex Salmond at Herriot Watt University.



figure 7.1. Herriot Watt University, Edinburgh

Source: McIntosh (2015)

The inscription on the rock reads: *"The rocks will melt with the sun before I allow tuition fees to be imposed on Scotland's students"*. The current Scottish first minister is also quoted as saying *"for as long as I am First Minister, there will be no tuition fees in Scotland"*.

The question though was why has Scotland decided on this approach to university education funding (more aligned with PA or DA approach to service delivery of significant state involvement) when the rest of the UK, the USA and several countries have adopted the position of charging fees or tuition, (more aligned with the NPM or neoliberal market-oriented approach to services to the public)?

The education system in Scotland was one of the few systems, including banking, law and religious systems that were kept separate at the creation of the union. Consequently, Scottish education policies have always been locally made (Jeffery 2010). Decisions to introduce a graduate endowment which was later scrapped for the current policy were taken locally. These were political decisions which were beyond the interference of the UK government and policy prescriptions by supranational bodies like IFIs which tend to favour some level of charges as described in the literature reviewed on policy transfer in chapter 3, section 5. What is important to highlight here is the fact that the decision of Scotland appears to be local policies formulated to meet local needs, devoid of external interference.

Participants were asked specifically if external bodies including the IMF and World Bank would suggest policies for Scotland. This question is asked based on the literature reviewed in chapter 5 including Brock-Utne (2003) and Ochwa-Echel (2013) which indicates that external donors have a hand in HE tuition policies in SSA. Responses were that this was unlikely, though the comment below highlights some of the subtle ways in which this is possible and potentially why this appears to be the case for developing nations like Nigeria.

“Back in the 1970s, the UK required an IMF loan and although I do not think that directly dictated educational policies, I think it did create an environment where really hard questions had to be asked and answered and that was the beginning of the marketisation of our education.

I do not know specifically the IMF said we had to marketize our education but an implication of how you manage public funds (organizations) meant that it became a very live issue because it is no coincidence that in the late 1970s and early 1980s all that (marketisation) started (SO32)”

Participant SO32'S comments here is in agreement with literature in chapter 2 including Burk and Cairncross (1992) in '*Goodbye, Great Britain: The 1976 IMF Crisis*' and the UK's acceptance of an IMF loan in the face of economic crisis; which the authors considered a familiar option for Third World countries but an unfamiliar one for a Western developed country. Fearing that the economic crisis would turn the UK into a left-wing siege economy that would endanger the post-war order, the US treasury through the IMF imposed conditions which included cuts in public spending and a market-driven approach (ibid).

Given the literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3, on NPM and policy transfer respectively, while such pressure to reform might no longer apply to some of the richest and most powerful nations in the World like the UK and by extension Scotland, because they are essentially the decision makers through their domination of IFIs and through being net lenders, such pressures are still applicable to some of the poorest and least powerful nations.

The comment above embodies a theme that runs through NPM, SAPs and the Washington Consensus as reviewed in chapter 2 and highlighted on the analytical framework and this is a reduction in Government funding in various sectors of the economy including education.

This can also be evaluated using Francis Fukuyama's "end of history" and modernisation theory discussed in chapters 2 and 3 respectively. After the WW2, most countries had different approaches to administering and funding public services though there was significant emphasis on state intervention and involvement because, at this point in many countries, public services were dominated by a government monopoly. This changed with the economic crisis of the 1970s onwards with questions asked on the volume of public spending which had implications for all aspects of the economy including education as discussed and indicated by SO32.

This led to the marketisation of university education which the participant above referred to through pressures imposed on borrowers and conditionalities attached including SAPs in countries like Nigeria. While these were initially a Western and Western-aligned developing country phenomenon, the literature reviewed indicates that these reforms are near global. The adoption of these policies is considered IFI-driven by many scholars including Larbi (1999) and Williamson (2002). What is, however, important to note which separates many developed countries from developing ones is that the marketisation of public services did not result in the abandonment of state intervention in areas including welfare state, social health care, and education. Evidence of this is the policy of no tuition in Scotland for home students which has been discussed in this chapter. Even in England where charges exist, the emergent quasi-markets there are still guaranteed by government-backed loans.

NPM literature, neoliberalism, Fukuyama's "End of History" and modernisation theory of development all describe a homogenisation of the approaches to PA and service delivery towards marketisation. The evidence here suggests that this is not the case, at least in the narrow view of charges for undergraduate "home" students in Scotland. While countries like Nigeria and England have adopted a policy that emphasises increased use of charges, Scotland has not. This indicates that there is no evidence of policy transfer or lesson learning that favours marketisation.

Scotland has adopted a locally made policy that appears to address local needs and as the evidence shows, has not resulted in any negative outcomes for accessibility.

Drivers of tuition policy and policy transfer link: Nigeria

Unlike Scotland, the tuition policy in Nigeria is not universal based on the diverse types of universities that exist and how they are funded.

Based on the profile of the participants, they were also invited to identify drivers of tuition policies and potential policy transfer and some of their comments included the following:

“Introduction of tuition by Federal universities and an increase in the use of charges by State universities is driven by the need to raise revenue due to a reduction in direct funding coming from the Federal and State governments respectively (NA7)”

“The government(s) can no longer afford to fund universities and pay staff (NA9)”

The comments above indicate that charges and its increasing use are driven by practicalities of raising revenue and funding the system which is understandable against a backdrop of reduced government funding.

The question though is; why has government funding continually reduced? The three distinct legal frameworks within which universities operate in Nigeria earlier discussed and the lack of a national singular policy on managing and funding university education in Nigeria, like what exists in Scotland makes the question difficult to answer and comparison challenging. Nevertheless, attempts will be made to address these issues and compare.

According to the theoretical framework and the changes from classic PA to NPM as well as earlier comments by Scottish participant SO32, a direct implication of financial relief from IFIs and lending developed countries is a re-evaluation of areas of national spending. SO32 attributed this to marketisation developments in UK university education. Based on the literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3, on SAPs and Williamson’s Washington Consensus, prominent features of these developments included fiscal policy discipline, deregulation and subsidy withdrawals. These theoretically provide explanations for reductions in government funding which necessitated the need for increased use of charges.

Literature from Brock-Utne (2003), Ochwa-Echel (2013) etc. reviewed in chapter 5 on HE finance policies in SSA and the role of IFIs and developed nations in local policy also links the reduction in government funding in the region to external influences and provides the policy transfer links. Alou (2003) reviewed in chapter 3, section 7 on 3.7.2. on the “displacement of local governments as local decision centres in economic matters” further serves the point of backing up these developments.

Modernisation theory as reviewed in chapter 3, where developing countries are pressured to adopt policies in use or advocated by donors, highlights mechanisms under which policy transfer can occur, particularly through SAPs and conditions attached to financial relief. In the context of this research, this would have implications for tuition policies for university education and resulting negative outcomes already identified as non-existent for Scotland but significant for Nigeria. However, as the findings in this chapter have indicated, Scotland has taken a local approach which appears to nullify any negative implications while Nigeria appears to have taken an externally influenced approach which has negative outcomes. Why is this the case, why have local leaders not taken policy approaches which might be different from the “near-global” NPM approach but which might have resulted in less undesirable outcomes?

A common expression that participants used was “*he who pays the piper dictates the tune*”. The popular comment on this theme was that; if external bodies were providing financial relief to developing countries, then it was expected that there would be certain conditions attached to financial relief. Developing countries like Nigeria have a choice to not accept these conditions and possibly the financial relief.

Neoliberal hegemony and dependency theory which as discussed in chapter 3, and evident on the analytical framework highlights the unequal power relations that exist between developed and developing countries.

Global hegemonies and its impact on university education are discussed in detail in the next chapter. Discussions on this theme focus on international

student mobility and the phenomena of a large number of students, primarily from developing nations moving to developed countries to access services like education and paying a premium in the process. The discussions of this theme in the next chapter also focus on the contemporary development of universities from developing countries setting up operations in developed countries and in competition with local providers and also charging a premium in the process as well as international student mobility. This is facilitated through the other features of NPM and Williamson's Washington consensus including property rights security, deregulation, abolishing regulations impeding market entry, market-determined interest rates, trade liberalisation regarding imports, subsidy withdrawal, liberalisation of foreign direct investment and competitive exchange rates which often involved devaluation.

These are developments that seemingly only work in one direction, transfers from developing nations (periphery) to developed ones (core) as described by dependency theory, and not in the other direction.

Participants also indicated that developments in university education including the proliferation of private universities and greater emphasis on charging are directly attributed to deregulatory reforms which had been instituted before and since the return of democracy in 1999. As analysed in chapter 3, section 10. Nigeria sought a debt relief from the Paris group of creditors in the early 2000s which came with conditions including deregulation, discipline in resource use and increased national saving. Some of the developments in the university sector were attributed to this, with participants suggesting that reduced investments in the university sector and wider economy could be attributed to these developments.

This was preceded by SAPs introduced under military rule in the 1980s and changes to the exchange rate mechanism as reviewed in chapter 3, section 5. This is similar to the comments made by the Scottish participant (SO32) on the precursor to wider marketisation in the UK university sector and the economy at large.

Based on the analytical framework and developmental theories, evidence of policy transfer is identified in Nigeria, though the extent to which specific policy suggestions can be directly tied to specific policies on university education tuition policies is difficult to establish.

7.7. Discussion and Summary

This chapter has achieved the first objective of this research which was to evaluate current university education tuition policies in Nigeria (developing country) and Scotland (developed country) context, use of charges and the implications this has for access in the context of NPM, market-type reforms, policy transfer and developmental theories.

To address these questions, the legal frameworks in which universities operate was first established. This was vital due to the legal frameworks which characterise service delivery bodies under different approaches to administration and it was expected that this might positively identify changes. Based on the theoretical framework and the literature reviewed in chapter 2, Weberian public administration is characterised by government monopoly of service delivering organisations (Dunleavy and Hood 1994; Larbi 1999; Falconer 1997; Le Grand 2011). An NPM or market-based approach to administration or service, on the other hand, is characterised by providers which can be public, private or third sector organisations (ibid).

Findings here indicated that Scottish universities operated as charities and the purpose of this designation is to protect them from tax liabilities. This conforms with the expected legal structure of organisations operating under an NPM approach to service delivery.

As established from literature including Sowaribi (2005) and Bamiro (2012), the Nigerian university sector up until 1999 operated under a government monopoly with universities being managed by the Federal and State governments respectively, thereby conforming to the legal structures that would be expected under a bureaucratic approach to PA. The return of democracy in 1999 ushered in private universities. Private and public universities in Nigeria also conforms to the expected legal frameworks

expected of a sector operating under an NPM approach. The deregulation of the sector in Nigeria's case also shows what can be considered a change in approach from government monopoly to the embrace of a deregulated, NPM and market-based approach to university education provision.

One of the main focusses of the study which was addressed next was the comparative establishment of the tuition policies in use in Nigeria and Scotland as examples of a developing and developed nation in the context of the NPM approach to service delivery which is considered near global. Again, going back to the theoretical framework, NPM can be described as a system of PA and service delivery where competing service providers of diverse legal statuses as identified above compete for custom, which is backed directly or indirectly by the state (Falconer 1997; Le Grand 2011). An NPM or market-based approach to service delivery favours the use of charges as identified by scholars including Bird and Tsioupoulos (1997); Falconer (1997); Saint et al., (2003); Le Grand (2006; 2011); Ochwa-Echel (2013), though systems to ensure no qualified citizen is denied access need to exist.

Another significant theme established was that the proliferation of NPM and a market-based approach to administration and service delivery was primarily driven by developed nations based on their positions as net lenders to developing countries using vehicles like the Paris Club and through their dominance of IFIs.

Given the description of NPM provided above, its perception as global and its main promoters, it would be expected that developed countries, of which Scotland is one would exhibit more features of NPM, including the use of charges. Findings suggest otherwise. Scotland has a policy of no-tuition for students classed as home students, with tuition paid by the Scottish government through the SAAS for students classed as home students. Given the interventionist nature of this approach, it can be considered an approach that would be expected under Weberian PA and not NPM. As a developed country, which as part of the UK can also be described as one of the major promoters of a market-driven approach to PA and service delivery, this approach to funding HE is also at odds with what would be expected.

Up until deregulation and the market entry of private university education providers in Nigeria in 1999, the Federal universities charged no tuition while the State universities charge negligible fees and were heavily subsidized. Most Federal universities now charge tuition. There are no price regulations for what the private institutions charge and most charge a premium based on perceptions of quality and fact that their operations are immune from strike actions which affect graduation times that is prevalent in public institutions. Most of the State universities now also charge a premium to stay open because they are not well funded by the state governments.

While there is no national coherent policy for tuition in Nigeria like it exists in the UK, the funding policies in Nigeria can be considered significantly marketised with the market determining price through competition and providing choice, perceived efficiency and quality as well as potentials for exit and voice. The developments here conform to the outcomes expected under NPM or a market-based approach to service delivery.

The perceived benefits of market-based service delivery highlighted above are however based on the provision that all eligible candidates can afford to pay. The findings here also fall outside the conventional definition of NPM where competing services providers are competing for business from government-backed services users as in a quasi-market (Le Grand 2011). The market in the Nigerian university education sector can be described more as a pure market than as a quasi-market. Can all qualified Nigerians afford to pay for university education? This led to the next sections which provided findings on issues of affordability and access.

Given available socio-economic indicators from the NBS (2017) which indicated that over 60% of Nigerians live in poverty (less than \$1.25/daily), the average family has over 5 children, the monthly minimum wage in the public sector is N18000/month or about £38, findings from participants, all of whom cannot be considered poor were that university education was increasingly unaffordable to most Nigerians. This was backed up by literature reviewed in chapter 5. It was important to note that in making these assertions, most

participants were talking about the State and Federal universities and not the private universities which charge a premium. This led to the next section which evaluated the private university sector in Nigeria in the context of socio-economic factors earlier indicated and the implications this had for access.

Private universities do not receive direct subsidies from the government though based on the company's income tax act highlighted earlier, they do not pay taxes because of their remit of providing a service of public interest. As a result of no regulations on the upper limits of what they can charge and perceptions of quality, they charge a premium which most participants indicated most average Nigerians, particularly the 62.5% that live in poverty would struggle to pay.

On what the what the implications of this were for social equity, participants indicated the service was not for everyone and was there for only those who could pay for it.

This provides evidence of where the introduction of market competition has resulted in a sizable proportion of the population being disenfranchised. It questions the assertions of the likes of Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) who indicated that they believed that everything that could be charged should be charged; and some Scottish participants including SO35 who suggested that they would always favour the presence of markets. While there are debates to be had about the trade-offs in the perceived benefits of NPM or market-based provision including choice, quality etc., the question is; would all these individuals still stand with their positions in advocating charges and markets if the evidence provided here is presented to them? This is unlikely.

Given the perceived global nature of NPM and market-type reforms, policy transfer and the power relations that exist between developed and developing nations, as well as findings in this chapter which show that tuition policies in Scotland and Nigeria are different, the next section explored the drivers of tuition policies.

Findings were that in Scotland, policies were locally driven and devoid of external influence. Findings for Nigeria indicated that tuition rises were as a result of reduced government funding. The question then was; why the government had reduced funding. Evaluation with the framework and literature indicated that a reduction in government funding could be attributed to conditions imposed by external partners which called for a re-evaluation of the government's role and expenditure in PA and service delivery. This shows elements of policy transfer or imposition. This development was also analysed with modernisation theory.

Comparing Scotland and Nigeria highlights that Scotland has adopted a locally conceived policy to address local needs and findings have indicated that this resulted in no negative outcomes. Nigeria, on the other hand, has seemingly been externally influenced and this has resulted in undesirable outcomes. Perhaps this calls for the development and implementation of local policies to address local needs in Nigeria.

In summary, this chapter addressed marketisation in the limited context of charges as a feature of market-based PA and service delivery highlighted by NPM in the theoretical framework and the implications this had for access in Nigeria and Scotland. It was established that there were no negative implications for Scotland while there were negative implications for access in Nigeria. This was attributed to Scotland adopting a local approach to address local needs in the context of Nigeria which appears to be externally influenced. A potential solution for Nigeria is that local policies to address these local issues with emphasis placed on significant government investment in university education might result in different outcomes.

The next chapter considers marketisation from the wider context of the tenets of NPM identified by Hood (1991).

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS: COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF MARKETISATION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

8.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented and analysed findings on the current university education finance policies in Nigeria and Scotland with emphasis on the use or non-use of user charges for tuition as part of marketisation reforms and implications this has for access in Nigeria and Scotland. This is in the context of the analytical framework which emphasised NPM and a market-type approach to PA and service delivery which are considered global.

The conclusions of the previous chapter were that, evaluating marketisation from the narrow view of the presence of user charges or cost recovery for undergraduate home students, marketisation in the narrow view of charges was only evident in Nigeria and not in Scotland and this is contrary to the common view of NPM literature which indicates that the phenomenon is global or near global. Conclusions of the previous chapter also runs contrary to the logical expectation that developed countries, of which Scotland is one, will exhibit more features of marketisation and NPM due to them being the major promoters of this approach to PA and service delivery as a result of their dominance of supranational bodies which promote these policies and as net lenders to developing countries.

This chapter presents and analyses data on the extent to which university education in Nigeria and Scotland can be considered marketised and answers related questions associated with the funding and management policies in both locations and their outcomes in the context of wider tenets of NPM as identified by Hood (1991).

8.1. Revisiting Hood 1991's features of NPM and framework

While marketisation in the previous chapter was viewed from the single focus of charges, this chapter considers marketisation from the extent to which the

tenets of NPM identified by scholars, particularly Hood (1991) is present in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland, based on perspectives of participants who were all chosen because they worked in universities or had close interests in university education. A re-presentation of the features of NPM as identified by Hood (1991) and reviewed in chapter 2, section 3, which informed the analytical framework developed to evaluate the findings of this study is provided below.

	Doctrine/Tenet	Justification	Replaces
A	Corporatization and unbundling of PS into units organised by product	Manageable units; responsibility; separate production and provision to reduce waste	Inclusive and uniform PS aimed at avoiding overlaps and underlaps in accountability
B	A competitive provision that is contract-based; term contracts and internal (Quasi) markets	Competitive rivalry is the key to better standards and reduced costs;	Tenured or unspecified contracts; unlimited provision; Links between provision and purchase to cut transaction costs
C	Emphasis on private sector management practices	Aimed at reaping the perceived benefits of private sector practices	Emphasis on private sector ethics, fixed hiring rules and pay. Job for life. Centralised personnel structure.
D	Frugality and discipline in resource use	Cost-cutting; do more with less. Raise labour discipline	Stable base budget, bureaucratic norms, minimum standards, union vetoes
E	Visible hands-on senior management	Accountability, clear responsibility.	Paramount stress on policy skills and rules, not active management
F	Explicitly stated and formal measurable standards of performance and success	Accountability indicated by efficiently meeting clear goals	Qualitative and implicit standards
G	Stress on output controls	Emphasis on results	Emphasis on control by collaboration and procedure

Table 8.1 Summary of NPM tenets or components, justifications, corresponding component in bureaucratic PA, significance and implications

Source: Adapted from Hood (1991)

Re-presented below is the research framework which encompasses Weberian PA and NPM, developments that caused a change in the system and for the purposes of this study, the implications of these developments in university education.

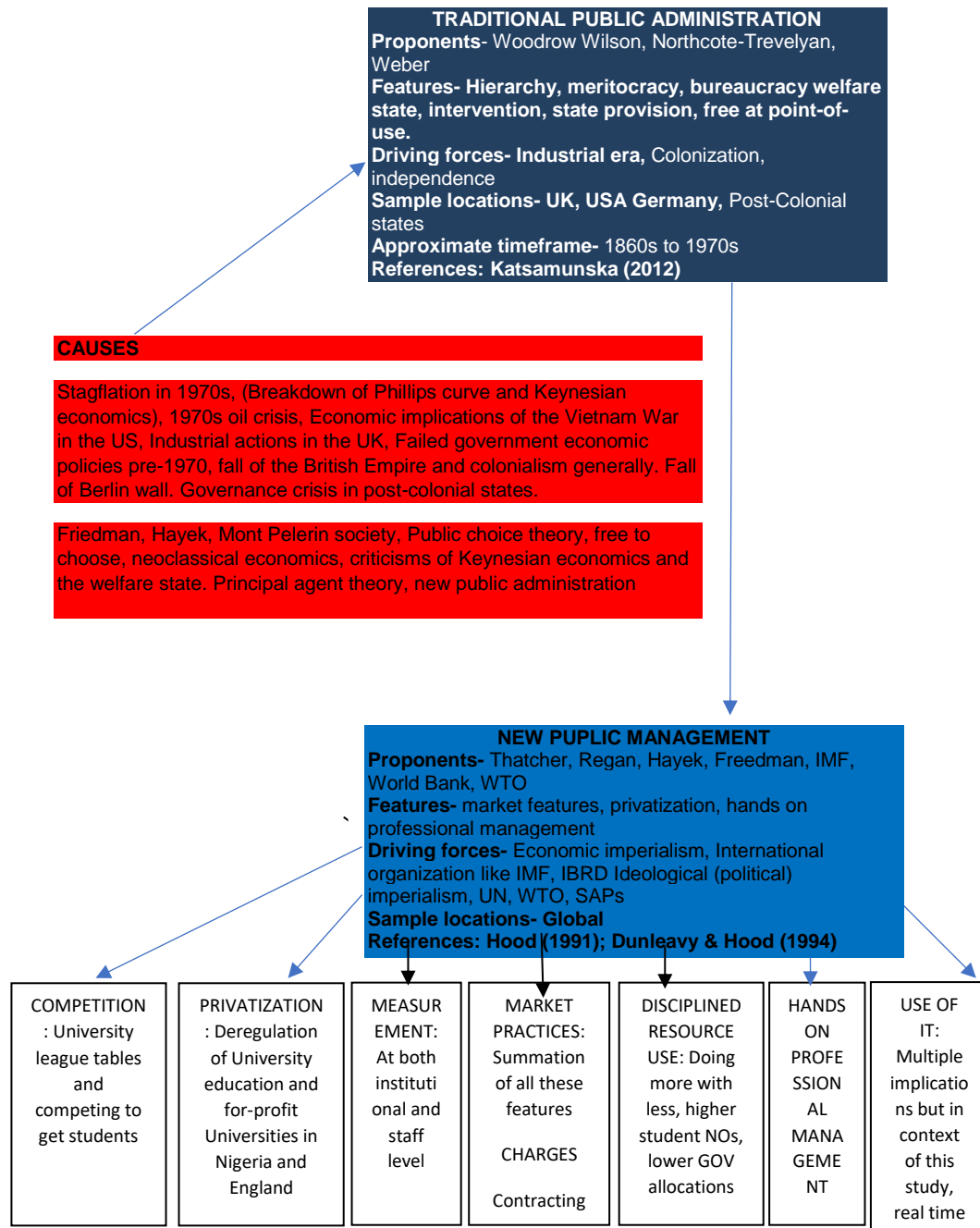


Figure 8.1. Research analytical framework

Source: Developed from literature

One of the research participants who was a retired public administration and management academic was asked specifically what the impact of NPM was on public administration and his response was that; *NPM is passé*. This response is quite interesting because like the rest of this chapter will show, wider responses by this same individual and all other interviewees indicate that some of the tenets of NPM identified above which informed the framework are identified by participants as being present in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland.

Participants were asked what the purpose of university education is presently and if this has changed over time. They were also asked to assess how university education should be funded. The rationale for these questions was to contextualise responses for questions on marketisation of university education. This could also potentially chart changes which might indicate a move from a university sector characterised by collaboration, relative lack of choice, bureaucracy etc. which are features of Weberian PA to competitive systems that are response, offer choice, flexibility and were open in their activities which is emblematic of a market-based approach to service delivery as highlighted in Table 8.1. and figure 8.1.

8.2. Perceptions of the purpose of University education: Scotland

As a result of purposeful and snowball sampling employed in this study which by design only involved senior academics, policymakers and administrators, none of the individuals involved in Scotland paid for any part of their university education at undergraduate level and most did not pay at post-graduate level. Reasons for only selecting these individuals was that being industry insiders, they were best placed to provide answers to the research questions. How they responded to the question above because of their own experiences of not paying tuition needs to be properly contextualized.

On “what the role of the university is in the 21st century, some responses are provided below:

“For me, I think the university has lost its way, I am more of an elitist I have to say. I feel like we have opened universities to too many people. The state cannot afford any more to fund universities, hence tuition fees and all of that. I think the role of the university seems to have become, one of providing labour for the job market, I do not think that is the role of a university. Maybe I am now old and no longer relevant, but I think that universities are institutes of learning. I think that education is an end in its own right. I do not think that universities are there simply to provide qualifications to enable students to get jobs. What I have found in recent years is that the focus of students has gone from learning to passing. Much more instrumental, much more materialistic and that worries me greatly. I think that too many students are leaving university with qualifications, but they do not know their subjects” (SA28)

“I think there is a range of roles. Obviously, there is a role of education in its broadest sense though that is not just about training people for professions or roles but educating the next generation to be forward thinking and as creative as they can be. To be problem solvers. To have as broad a base of opportunities available for young people to grow and develop, and also, allow those who have missed out earlier on to be able to come back and develop so I see them as having a crucial role in society than just encouraging the importance of thinking, learning and having inquiring minds” (SA30)

Participant SA28 indicated that “we”, meaning academics or the universities have opened up the sector to too many people. Based on the literature reviewed in chapter 5, including the likes of the Robbins, Anderson reports, Brown 2013 etc. this assertion appears inaccurate. The government opened-up universities to become what Trow (1973) referred to as a mass system as discussed in chapter 5, section 1. Participants who were university administrators including SO31, SO32 and SO33 suggested as much by

indicating that universities are happy to follow government direction, provided it does not negatively affect them.

While the participant SA28 mentioned tuition, this only applies in England where the government has provided loans which allows universities charge what they need in line with the characteristics of a quasi-market as described in the literature and in the framework. In Scotland, there is no tuition, however, continual replacement of grants with repayable loans could mean even in this system which appears funded and managed according to the conventions of Weberian PA, value for money is becoming a live issue.

Under NPM and a market approach to service delivery as highlighted in the framework and literature, choice, value for money etc. which can be equated with the instrumentality and materialistic tendencies which participant SA28 observes are exactly what would be expected. How can university education be “an end in its own right” when the relationship to what material value it adds to the student, given increased personal contributions is left out of the equation? If students are taking out loans and committing years of their adult lives to get “educated”, and the “education” does not provide a direct means for them to repay the loans and live a better life, where is the value and all the other benefits NPM promises, and why should they commit the resources they now do to pursue an education?

Participant SA30 provides a more balanced view by indicating that university education should serve the purpose of equipping the student with the skills that they need in their career (value for money), while at the same time nurturing their minds.

Both participants whose comments were cited here were over 65 years of age and given the HE tuition policies when they went to university, they did not pay any part of their tuition or living expenses and also indicated that they got paid extra on top of their living expenses to go into teaching.

Both participants also indicated that they had no challenges securing employment after their education. This is not necessarily the case today, even with advanced qualifications.

With more students and their families shouldering more direct costs of university either in the form of living expenses in Scotland and both living expenses and tuition in places like Nigeria and England, in line with an NPM and marketized approach to public service delivery based on literature in chapter 5, and findings in chapter 7; coupled with a changing, more competitive and crowded labour market, the instrumentality or the idea of 'what can my financial and time investment in education give me', which was the overwhelming view of Nigerian participants, which will be discussed subsequently is qualified.

The rationale is that if an individual is paying for a service, the individual may have expectations about how it can benefit them, even if the service is one like university education which participants suggest is not directly transactional.

On how universities should be funded in Scotland, responses include the following:

"I believe university education has both private and public benefits and as such, it should be jointly funded by the government and the student"
(SO31)

"I strongly believe that education, particularly at undergraduate level should be funded by the state. I have three siblings and if my parents had to pay, there is no way all of us would have gone to university"
(SA21).

Most participants took the view that university education had both public and private benefits and as such, it should be funded by both the state and the student, though some, particularly the younger participants were of the view

that it should be funded by the government, as it currently is in Scotland. This is in line with a DA or bureaucratic approach which favours government intervention.

Participants were also asked if even more people than currently do should go to University. The rationale for this is that the justifications for user charges in university education as indicated by participants and literature reviewed is that, with increasing numbers going to university, university education can no longer be publicly funded. This was discussed in detail in chapter 4, section 5 on charging and in chapter 5, sections 1 and 2 on the historical overview of university education funding policies. A quote from a participant who was a Professor and served as a policy advisor to a former UK Prime Minister on this theme is provided below.

“No, I do not think that every one or more people than the numbers that now do should go to university. Universities are a particular kind of training in logical thinking, reasoning and analysis and they do not provide training in manual dexterity and I am also unconvinced about their ability to provide training in creativity. It is not the kind of thing universities are good at promoting so I think that some people should go to institutions that can provide training in things like trade, creativity and manual dexterity” (SO35)

Evaluating this comment in the context of the analytical framework and literature on NPM, public choice, exit and voice etc. that was reviewed in chapter 2, the question that emerges is; who makes the decision? Should it be the government through restrictions on choice as it would be expected under Weberian PA as characterised by interventionist policies, or the resident service user who has control and choice over his or her affairs? The participant here appears to be advocating for less choice which is interesting and contradictory because he is a renowned expert on quasi-markets and a staunch advocate of market-based service delivery based on his comments in

the last chapter where he indicated that he favours the presence of markets over the alternative.

While the majority of participants suggested that universities had been opened to too many people who could possibly have taken alternative routes like vocational education, some suggested that even more people should be encouraged to go because well-off people tended to have higher access rates than those less well-off, and increased access could be a method of improving social mobility. What was interesting was that those who held the former view tended to be older, went to university in an era of free tuition and non-means tested grants or in the context of the theoretical framework, bureaucratic PA. Those that held the latter view were younger, more diverse and in some cases had paid some fees in the NPM era. In this case, sampling characteristics have implications for the data. While all those involved in this research were academics or had ties to academia, it would be interesting to pose this same question to non-academics or younger people to see what the responses are. This can be explored in future research.

The wards of the people in higher income groups are unlikely to stop going to university in the numbers that do if there is a finite or limited number of spaces and universities. These categories of people will be in a position academically and economically to secure places before less well-off people because they can afford it and tend to have good qualifications because of extra preparations their economic and social circumstances permit comparatively. Expanding the number of universities and therefore the number of places has meant more people of all other categories have better chances at attending university. This is partly the basis of HE expansion in many countries, including in the UK as indicated by the likes of the Anderson, Robbins and Dearing reports analysed in chapter 5, sections 1 and 2.

The proportion of people accessing a service like education has implications for how it is funded, even when ideological considerations are factored in.

Questions of what percentage of the populations should go to university and its implications were evaluated and the view was that the numbers that currently access university education is getting too high, despite externalities which have been analysed in depth in chapter 4, section 5. For countries like the England and Scotland, not only would more funds need to be provided upfront for educating people, but the economy will lose out by having people in school and not in work. It appears the question here might be; how can it be ensured that not just the richest in society access university education? Extensive analysis of this appears beyond the scope of this thesis.

What the literature analysed in chapter 5, makes clear is that in most countries including Nigeria and Scotland, more people are going to university and like the rest of this thesis shows, this has had implications for how university education is funded.

Perceptions of the purpose of university education and how should it be funded? Nigeria

Questions of purpose and who should bear the responsibility of funding university education was posed to Nigerian participants too, though this requires some context before responses are provided. Most Nigerian interviewees apart from those who were current or newly finished PhD students were on average 50 years or older. Implications were these individuals had gone to university when tuition was free, and they got a stipend for living expenses, like the old system in the UK. Some, however, had children or family members they were responsible for in terms of putting through university in the era of soaring tuition fees and no government coverage of living expenses.

If the Scottish Government decided to eradicate all student support and introduce a policy where students and their guardians were responsible for tuition and living expenses, the reactions from stakeholders would be interesting. Based on the current system and the expectation that a fraction of

those who take out loans (for living expenses in Scotland and for both tuition and living expenses in England) would not pay it back, there is an expectation that the government assumes significant responsibility for most aspects of public service delivery, including university education. This is funded through general taxation. All these do not consider the economic status and do not require a personal contribution from the individual that enjoys the service.

Based on the analytical framework and literature, this does not indicate an NPM or market-based approach, it can best be described as government intervention that is theoretically justified by bureaucratic PA as shown in the theoretical framework.

In Nigeria, the opposite appears to be the case, and questions of what the role of the government is in areas of public life like university education and what expectations the citizens have of the government appear to be valid questions. This appears to contradict Hood (1991)'s conditions under which criticisms of NPM was valid where he argued that criticisms of the "all seasons" quality of NPM relate to administrative values and narrow ideas about good administration instead of the wider role of the government in society and the political values held by governments. It shows that the impacts of these administrative changes in the framework go beyond the adoption of "administrative values" which might be considered "good administration" and has an impact for the role of government in the Nigerian society, which as findings in the last chapter shows is not all positive due to a large section of the society being unable to access university education.

The older participants could conceive of a time when the government was responsible for certain things like the no-tuition and grant-supported university education they enjoyed and they and spoke about this nostalgically. Some participants who had lived in countries like the UK could contextualise what the perceived role of government should be and where it appeared there were shortcomings in Nigeria voiced their unhappiness with the current system in Nigeria. There were however some who had also lived and studied abroad

who thought it was the responsibility of the parents and students to fund university education. This is likely explained by the sampling criteria which meant, none of the participants could be considered poor based on available socio-economic data on Nigeria.

While the Nigerian government provides some services like healthcare and education, most people who access government provided services are people who cannot afford those same services as provided by the private sector based on the responses from participants because of a perceived lack of quality and institutional inefficiencies like constant strike actions. While all but two of the Nigerian participants are products of public universities since private institutions were not around when most of them went to university, the overall theme of the responses was that some of their own children have or would attend private universities or foreign universities. A participant, for example, indicated that his daughter spent ten years in medical school for a program that should have taken six years due to strike actions which do not occur in private institutions. This has to be put into the context of the socio-economic status of participants and it has already been established that none could be considered poor. Further research more representative of the general population might well yield different responses.

An area of future research can explore people's preferences for private service providers in relation to public service provision.

Below is some data on what the purpose of university education is in Nigeria:

“University education in Nigeria is seen as a stage that needs to be passed through to stand a better chance in life. This does not mean everyone that goes to university has a better life, not even close, however, most jobs require you to have a certificate” (NA10)

“There is a perception that everyone must have a university degree and for this reason, apprenticeships are not reckoned with” (NA15)

While some Scottish participants, suggested that university education served a higher purpose, the overwhelming view from Nigerian participants was that university education was instrumental and its major purpose was to provide students with qualifications that would help them secure jobs.

From the framework and an NPM viewpoint, the responses here can be linked to features like choice and value for money. Participants can draw direct links between what they pay for a service and expected benefits and even factors like perceived benefits on qualitative issues are considered.

This does not, however, answer the questions of; if all qualified residents can afford it. What is the point of choice, value for money etc. if the service is not accessible because the individual cannot pay for it?

Below are some of the responses to the question of who should pay for university education in Nigeria:

“Government cannot afford to pay for everyone’s tuition. In the context of HE, I think universities should have some form of autonomy and as such, universities need to be able to raise some of their funds by themselves, which is obviously from students through tuition fees because the scope to exploit other avenues of revenue generation is limited.

Education (HE) is expensive, my point is let universities charge the fee. We do not have a good credit system in Nigeria, what I feel is that the government should provide subsidy such that it does not become too expensive” (NA4)

“With the numbers of people now going into university, it is impossible for the government to fund HE” (NA6).

“The government is not in a position to fund the universities and the universities have to raise funds somehow” (NA10)

The overwhelming sentiment from participants here was that the government could simply not fund university education due to increasing numbers accessing it. Participants had to be prompted to answer the original question of who should ideally fund university education. The initial responses suggest a general feeling from participants that the government could simply not play the role that the Scottish Government apparently plays.

Responses on who should fund university education were split with some suggesting that Nigerians bore the responsibility and other suggesting that it was the role of the government to fund it.

In the context of the framework, NPM is supposed to engineer competitive service delivery from a multiplicity of sources (quasi-market) which should provide choice, voice and quality (Falconer 1997; Le Grand 2011). However, the government is still supposed to guarantee access by providing finances, particularly the poorest (ibid). This is the case in the UK however, Nigerians did not appear to think in these terms and in terms of the responsibility of government to them.

Comparing perceptions of purpose and attitudes to university funding in Nigeria and Scotland

Perceptions, particularly among older Scottish participants were that university education served the higher purpose of training students to be thinkers and problem solvers as opposed to one which just served the instrumental purpose of providing the student with qualifications that they need to fit into the labour market. Nigerian participants, on the other hand, opined that university education simply serves the purpose of providing students with certificates that positions them in the job market. As indicated by one of the participants, perceptions in Nigeria might be as a result of generational changes or it could also be because students increasingly bear the financial burden and have expectations of how the transaction can benefit them, which would be expected in a market system.

On attitudes to funding, again in Scotland, there is a perception among predominantly older participants that there is room for charges for tuition while most of the younger participants opine that university education funding should be the responsibility of the state. While some Nigerian participants indicate that the government should do more, overwhelmingly, there was a perception that the extent to which this is possible is limited, meaning students have to bear more costs.

This speaks to the expectations Nigerians have for their government and what they believe is possible relative to what is expected of government in places like Scotland.

This could be as a result of generational developments in Nigeria. Most of the younger participants grew up under military rule and in the era of economic crisis and SAPs, where there were no expectations of the government. Historical literature reviewed in chapter 5 and primary data from older participants on the other hand, however, indicates that there was a time when the government was more involved in societal affairs, including free tuition and living expenses for university education. The analytical framework captures this with Weberian PA characterised by state involvement and the subsequent change to NPM which is characterised by reduced government involvement and markets. This again calls into question the criticisms of NPM and Hood (1991)'s position that this can only be considered in the context of administrative values. The evidence here shows that it has wider implications, including political ideology and speaks to the role of the state in society.

The rest of this chapter presents and analyses data which establishes the extent to which features of NPM identified in the table and model above can be considered present in university education in Nigeria and Scotland. These are taken as measures of marketisation.

8.3. Is university education in Nigeria and Scotland marketised?

The inclusion criteria meant that all participants were university education stakeholders and were considered relatively knowledgeable about contemporary developments in university education. Consequently, they were asked if university education could be considered marketised and NPM's role in this.

All UK-based participants understood what marketisation was without requiring background information to be provided due to the level of attention it had attracted both within and outside academia. Most Nigerian participants, on the other hand, needed the provision of extra information. When told developments like the market entry of private universities, increase in the use of charges, reduced government funding and more competition was what the term marketisation referred to, they all indicated their awareness of such developments in university education.

Based on the discussions had during the data collection process, certain themes stood out which participants felt strongly about. In some cases, they were common to both case study locations and featured in the analytical framework in figure 8.1., and Hood 1991's features of NPM in table 8.1.

These themes shape the presentation and analysis of data in the rest of this section and are deregulation and private university education provision; corporatisation (this covers internationalisation, decision making in program development which is often driven by what can yield the highest revenue); reduction in government funding; private sector management practices including competition.

A recurrent theme which however appears to overlap both countries and provides a point of intersectionality which is discussed by participants from both countries is the phenomenon of a considerable number of people moving from developing countries like Nigeria to developed countries like Scotland, as well as the incursion of universities predominantly from developed countries like Scotland into the university sectors of some developing countries to set-

up local operations and the desirability of their online programs. Data on this theme is also presented and analysed.

Marketisation is defined as “the exposure of a service or industry to market forces (Van der Hoeven and Sziraczki 1997). A more comprehensive definition of marketisation refers to it as the restructuring process which allows state enterprises to function as market-oriented firms by changing the legal environment in which they operate (Vickerstaff 1998). This is accomplished through reduction of state subsidies, organizational restructuring of management, performance management, decentralization, privatization and in some cases the licensing of private providers for public services that were previously exclusively provided by the state and funded out of general taxation etc. (Hood 1991; Ferlie et al. 1996; Larbi 1999). These actions, in theory, will result in the establishment of a functional market system through the adaptation of a market-oriented mode of operation for service delivery for all the bodies that operate in the newly created market including the former government organizations and the new private sector players (Van der Hoeven and Sziraczki 1997).

Deregulation and private provision

In Scotland, universities are charities and are neither state institutions nor private institutions. As at the end of data collection for this study in May 2017, there were no private university education providers in Scotland. Going back to the research framework in figure 8.1 which has deregulation and private provision as a feature of market-type reforms to service delivery and the definitions of marketisation provided above, which includes privatisation or private provision, this feature is not evident in the Scottish university sector and Scottish university education still appears to conform to traditional organisational structures and approaches to service delivery.

As with charges for tuition, this also contradicts the perception that NPM is global as well as the perception that developed countries should exhibit more

features of NPM and market-based service provision because they are its main promoters.

Nigeria on the other hand as established in the literature reviewed in chapter 5, and findings presented and analysed in chapter 7, has government-run universities which are the State and Federal universities as well as private universities which have become a feature of the sector since 1999. As opposed to Scotland, the presence of private universities in Nigeria as a relatively new development confirms private provision which is a feature of marketisation as illustrated in figure 8.1. Nigeria is also a peculiar case study because the first private universities were established in 1999 which was also the year a democratically elected government was re-established after decades of almost uninterrupted military rule. This might suggest that there is a relationship between the acceptance and adoption of market-type reforms and democracy as opposed to similar developments under military regimes or other forms of government.

Private universities in Nigeria

The idea of privatisation of a particular service to most people could mean a take-over of an already established government organisation by a private-for-profit provider or a charity, however, in the case of university education, this is seldom the case. While it is not uncommon for the management and ownership of a private university to change, what is being referred to here is the deregulation of the sector to allow non-government service providers and the granting of licenses to certain individuals and organisations to establish and run private universities.

In Nigeria, the return of a democratically elected government in 1999 ushered in private universities which included for-profit providers and faith-based institutions which for all intents and purposes are also considered for-profit providers according to Enahoro and Badmus (2013) because they charge

some of the highest fees and there is seldom any charitable feature to their activities.

While the existence of a large private university sector had already been established with secondary data in chapter 5, section 3, questions of why there was a need to establish private universities was posed to participants and they were also asked to access the practical implication this had for the central theme of this thesis which was access in the context of economic realities in Nigeria and the premium charged by the private institutions. Participants were asked to evaluate accessibility to private universities, the demographic that could access them and the social implications of this. These are evaluated in the context of challenges that face the publicly funded institutions like quality and industrial actions analysed in chapter 5 and alluded to in the findings. These are not significant issues in private universities. Some of the responses to these questions are presented below:

“The reasons for private universities is that public universities do not have the capacity to cater for increasing and diverse demands for higher education; and no, the private universities are not currently affordable. Even the public universities are not currently affordable let alone the private universities which are not subsidized by public funds. Private universities need to internally generate all their funds which explain the higher costs.

The quality of some of these private institutions is also better than the public, and they do not embark on strike actions” (NA4)

“We need private providers of services as the government cannot afford to fund everything. Most people do not pay taxes” (NA8)

“In the case of Nigeria, while private provision, as well as a view of university education as a private good, solves demand pressures, it does nothing for access challenges for individuals in the lowest economic brackets” (NO11)

Based on the comments, participants who are all mainly industry insiders and primarily work or worked in publicly funded universities suggest that private universities exist because of demand pressures, the inability of the government to fund the inadequate state institutions and the inability of the state institutions to provide the needed quality.

Statistical findings presented in chapter seven which indicated that only a quarter of those who sought admission into HE education institutions in Nigeria secured admission. This confirms views of participants on why private universities exist.

The literature reviewed in chapter 5, including Okebukola (2006) and Ogunyinka (2014) support these views.

Other relevant issues include industrial actions by academic and non-academic unions as well as other disruptions to the academic calendar which results in students on occasion spending up to twice as much time as they should spend in university due to no fault of theirs as was the case of a participant who said his child spent ten years for a medical degree instead of the normal six. Most participants mentioned these issues as rationales for why some of their wards did not or would not be attending public universities. The literature reviewed in chapter 5, section 3 supports these views.

Apart from the inability of government provision to address demand pressures, the theme that runs through most of the responses from participants is that private institutions provide a healthy alternative as well as competition for publicly funded universities. Competition is another tenet of NPM management, features in the framework and is addressed in depth subsequently. At this point, it is important to re-address participant characteristics which have implications for findings.

All participants can in Nigerian socio-economic terms be described as middle-class individuals by virtue of them being employed in universities or the public

sector in the context of poverty levels which the NBS puts at over 60%. Most admitted to having children who have or are currently studying abroad and paying international student rates which can go over £30,000 per year depending on the country, university and cost type. Given the information provided earlier on the minimum wage in the public sector and poverty levels, it can be assumed none of the interviewees can be considered poor. The reason for this analysis is that there are no coherent frameworks for evaluating or differentiating income levels in Nigeria as it exists in the UK.

The implications of these individuals then suggesting that private universities are not accessible to the poorest Nigerians is that people in the lower economic brackets are very likely to say the same.

Theoretically, the private provision of services under the framework in figure 8.1. is supposed to offer multiple service providers which would provide service users with choice, quality, exit, voice, value for money and most importantly reduce government spending etc. However, based on literature including Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2011), markets for public services like university education are a quasi-market and it is the government's responsibility to ensure qualified individuals can access services that they need through government-backed credit systems. This does not appear to be the case in Nigeria.

What appears present in the case of Nigeria that is not present in the case of Scotland is that the question of the supposed benefits of market systems versus accessibility arises.

Having empirically established why private universities exist in Nigeria, which literature reviewed in chapter 5, section 3 supports, the next issues were who can access these institutions and the social implications of outcomes. Who can access private universities were already established in the previous chapter and it was identified that only the richest Nigerians could access private universities.

What the next section addresses are the social implications of private universities which are perceived to be good quality by most, being accessible to the richest.

8.4 Perceptions of the social implications of university education provision systems in Nigeria

Universities in Scotland also have different classes based on different metrics and perceptions with some more highly regarded than others. Literature and the perception of Scottish participants were that people in the highest socio-economic classes are likely to attend the most highly rated universities. This can be considered a system of social classification because of perceptions of quality in some institutions over others and the type of people that are likely to attend the highly regarded institutions.

Some Nigerian participants, particularly those that had studied abroad when questioned about the developments identified in the last section of highly regarded institutions being available to a few based on socio-economic status indicated that the richest even in places like Scotland tended to go to highly rated universities like St Andrews and the University of Edinburgh. It was emphasised that these developments were not unique to Nigeria.

Participants suggested that even Britain remains a very class-based society where certain things were available to certain people based on socio-economic status. It was emphasised that universities are not amplifying social divides and instead universities were simply a reflection of society. This asks the question; what is the role of government in society? Even though class systems exist in most societies and has implications, the role of government as data provided below by participant NO16 shows is to aim for equity, even if it is unachievable. Social welfare programs including medical systems in most of Europe and indeed systems of HE funding are designed to pursue equity, even if as the NO16 mentions, it might be unachievable. What is the role of government in the Nigerian society? While Hood (1991) suggests that

criticisms of NPM should only be considered from an administrative values perspective, outcomes for Nigeria directly question the role of government in society in a way it does not in Scotland.

In Scotland, from a “charges for tuition” point of view, every qualified candidate has an equal opportunity to attend a university of their choice. Tuition for qualifying students is not a barrier to access. While as earlier established, there are many socio-economic factors that can affect accessibility into universities or a certain type of university, the focus here is tuition for charges and not living expenses or any other factor.

From an equity versus benefits of marketisation point of view, which is one of the criticisms of NPM as identified by Hood (1991), an issue is identified for Nigeria that is not present for Scotland.

Participants suggested that prior to the establishment of private universities and increase in charges, perceptions of quality similar to the UK experience described above existed in the university sector in Nigeria with the Federal universities typically considered to be of better quality than the state ones. However, if you were qualified, you had a pick of where you went because finances were not an issue.

What are the social implications of having a university education sector where the best schools and programs are only available to the richest individuals in society? Does it amplify the class divide and what are the implications for social equity? As analysed in chapter 5, section 3, and findings in chapter 7 shows, tuition and other related costs have also risen exponentially in the State and Federal universities, however, the average costs of attending a private university far exceeds what is charged in the government universities because there is no direct government subsidisation of private university education. This is the reason why this section focuses on the idea of a private university sector given underlying socio-economic realities in Nigeria which has been analysed throughout this thesis.

These questions were put forth to participants and some of their responses are presented below:

“In Nigeria, we have two sets of standards, one for the private universities and one for the public which is not healthy for our society. Another thing is to have two sets of universities with different standards, high and low.

Regulations and legislation are needed; because we are a developing nation, we cannot base everything we have on market forces or supply and demand.

This creates different levels of citizenship, one for people who go to private and one that goes to the public which is not healthy for the society.

There must be some level of welfare to promote equity.

Government is supposed to be just, fair and equitable so the idea of having one system of state graduates and another for private graduates is not good” (NO15)

“Capitalism will not promote equity as a capitalist’s aim is to stay in business.

We know it is utopian to say everybody should be treated equally but that is the aim to which society must aspire and this is something the government must promote.

The government must ensure that there are justice, equity and fair play; to have different classes of citizens is not healthy, there will be competition if it is a healthy one, good, but this is usually not the case, it usually leads to violence or degeneration of the society. The government must aim for a level playing field for all citizens even if it not achievable. My view of NPM is that we should embrace other forms of public service delivery, and systems need to be in place to ensure losers of capitalism are taken care of through redistribution” (NO16)

“Every society has a class system so, the perception that everybody in society is equal is a myth” (NA3).

“I am not quite sure where a university does not create class systems in any society, go to Harvard, go to Oxford, they create a class system” (NA4)

“Well, that is true but that is not peculiar to Nigeria alone, you have the same in the UK, with institutions like Oxford, Cambridge etc. for the upper class and others for the rest. You always have that” (NO11)

“Class systems in society cannot be totally erased in society. Except we want to go socialist. Even Russia has fallen apart. As long as there is a capitalist system, there will be class systems” (NO12)

There is an acknowledgement from most participants that some of the private universities are perceived to be of better quality and more importantly that these are only accessible to the richest in society. While this reality is partially true for most countries, financial packages and access programs exist to ensure, not just the rich can access the best services. This is not the case in Nigeria. In Nigeria, participants appeared resigned to the idea that the dual system that currently exists is what it is and there is little that can be done about it.

The responses and apparent resignation that there was little that could be done need to be considered in the context of the socio-economic profiles of participants. As already established, no participant could be considered poor. Similar questions posed to people in lower socio-economic classes could yield different results.

While the literature reviewed on university education in Nigeria in chapter 5, section 3., including Oyebade (2005), Ajayi and Ekundayo (2008), Akinyemi et al., (2012) etc., all highlighted increasing charges and the marked differences in what private universities charge, most of the literature does not engage with issues of equity and the implications this has for the relationship between the state and its people and the states' role in ensuring access to university by equalling the field. In Scotland, the field is equalled by a policy of no tuition. In England where there are charges, the field is equalled by the government provided loans being available to all. It is important to note that while there might be other features of marketisation outside of charges present in the Scottish university sector as this chapter will show, the market is a quasi-market and not a pure market which the analytical framework in figure 8.1 shows. It is still a heavily regulated market with government influence, highlighted by the tuition policy.

The responses above from participants further confirms literature reviewed by indicating that there is almost no expectation from Nigerians that government has a duty to ensure services including HE is available to qualified individuals. This is a marked difference between the expectations from some of the Scottish participants that it should be the responsibility of the government to ensure equity of access. Most of the foreign literature of university education on developing nations including Saint et al., (2003), Ziderman and Albrecht (1995) etc. which were reviewed in chapter 5. focus on how to explore alternative means of raising revenue with an emphasis on deregulation and user charges in line with NPM reforms. There is little engagement with equity of access or the social implications of charges and private provision, given local socio-economic factors in developing nations like Nigeria. Again, going back to the supposed benefits of market-based service provision which characterises NPM versus equity as identified by Hood (1999), the criticisms of this system cannot simply be limited to considerations of NPM from administrative values which leads to "good management", but in terms of what the role of government is and how marketisation appears to have changed it.

This is significantly different from what NPM or market-based provision means in Scotland in the limited scope of this research (tuition) which translates to quasi-markets where the state still guarantees equity.

PO15 makes an interesting point that because Nigeria is a developing nation, “everything” (in this case) accessibility to university education should not be based on market forces or supply and demand. Similar sentiments were echoed by participants including PO16 with comments that it is government’s responsibility to ensure equity, fair-play and that government must aim for a level playing field for all residents, regardless of socio-economic status. This participant went as far as saying that other forms of public service delivery systems need to be embraced to ensure that losers of capitalism are not left behind. These comments came from individuals who were retired civil servants and had gone to school when education was free. The comments above are also in direct contrast to comments by SO35, who was a policy advisor to a former UK Prime Minister and some other UK-based participant’s comments that they favoured the presence of markets and even charges over the absence of markets.

NO16 talked about pursuing equity through redistribution. This suggests means testing. Most UK based participants mentioned that there were schemes designed to ensure equitable access over and beyond the tuition policies which are universal in both England and Scotland. When pressed on how this was achieved, they suggested that candidates and their family social circumstances are evaluated, and this is the basis for means testing for grants. Nigerian participants were asked if this had been in use or was possible and the responses were that the only way to identify anyone’s personal circumstances was if someone else recommended them and this is open to abuse. No literature the researcher on Nigeria engages with targeting in the manner UK participants describe. This would suggest that beyond having universal policies of charging everyone the same or charging everyone nothing for a particular service, redistribution as suggested by NO16 is currently not

feasible. Nevertheless, identity schemes which can make it easy to identify the personal circumstances of individuals including improvements in tax collection systems, national identity card systems, banking verification etc. can be improved on to make targeting possible.

The idea that schemes, where a third part recommends the personal circumstances of individuals as the basis for social assistance being open to abuse, should also not be a reason why it cannot be used or at least trialled. As the literature and the analytical framework shows, social welfare systems and quasi-markets do exist in developed countries to ensure that people can access services that they need, and this is a lesson that can be learned by developing nations.

All UK-based participants were asked how much they knew about the state administrative systems and university systems in Nigeria or developing countries and every single individual indicated that their knowledge of such matters was limited. Nigerian participants were also asked the same questions about Scotland and developed countries and every single participant indicated that they knew a fair lot, particularly about the university systems because they had visited these countries, studied in these countries or had children who had studied or lived in these countries.

The point being made here is that; could it be that the UK-based individuals as well as evidence from literature including Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) who indicated that they favoured markets and charges respectively, were only talking in the limited capacity of what they knew about their local environments (developed countries), where even though markets and some charges existed, these were quasi-markets, and no one was denied access because they could not pay?

Could it also be that the Nigerian participants who also appeared to understand markets, their own local contexts and international contexts, but thought that perhaps alternative systems of administration and service delivery would be ideal for Nigeria made the comments that they made because they knew the

challenges that would emerge with private provision, charges and markets in Nigeria? Evidence from this research indicates the above might be the case on both counts.

Despite the above, most of the literature that shapes academic thinking on public administration systems, which influences policy prescriptions from IFIs and donor countries appear to come from those donor countries and not developing countries which are the target of these policies.

Some of the findings here are made possible by adopting a methodological approach that considers participants local contexts and allows them to talk about their world, the way they understand it.

There appears to be a need for people from developing countries to contribute more to academia and developing policies, particularly in areas that directly affect them.

Comparing private provision in Nigeria and Scotland

Private provision of services that were either exclusively funded by the state or heavily subsidized is a significant feature of market-type reforms, NPM, The Washington consensus and neoliberalism as the literature reviewed in chapter 2, has indicated and as shown in table 8.1. and figure 8.1. Market-type reforms including private provision of services as conceived by the likes of Milton Friedman, Friedrich Hayek, The Mont Pelerin society etc. and as initially implemented by the likes of Former UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan and spread to most countries through IFIs are justified on the basis of choice, efficiency and value for money. While the literature suggests that these reforms are global, as with findings on charges in chapter 7, findings on private provision of university education also suggest that they are not global because private university education does not exist in Scotland, though it exists in Nigeria. While it is expected that developed countries will exhibit more features of NPM, the evidence thus far on charges and private provision indicates that the opposite is the case.

As indicated above, choice and efficiency are the main justifications for these reforms. Given that there is no private provision in Scotland, practical policy outcomes are not discussed.

For Nigeria however, choice and efficiency benefits are evident but accessible only to those who can pay the price. For most of the citizenry, particularly the poorest, the perceived choice and efficiency benefits of NPM and private provision of university education do not exist for them because the data on poverty rates and wage levels suggest that they cannot afford it.

While it has been established that private provision does not exist in Scotland, private provision exists in many developed countries including England and participants were invited to comment on the theme discussed here as it affects a developed country where private provision exists (England), relative to a developing country (Nigeria).

From an access viewpoint, no qualified individual in England is disenfranchised from attending a university of their choice, be it private or public as a result of charges because financial instruments (student loans) which are provided to students attending other universities are usually provided to those attending private universities provided they meet the inclusion criteria. As opposed to the case in Nigeria where private universities charge the most, some private universities in England charge less than other universities, meaning choice exercised by private university students will result in savings.

There is a need to re-emphasize at this point that this study only looks at tuition for undergraduate students classed as home students and not living expenses or post-graduate students and the analysis above is made on this basis.

In Nigeria, the loan system as used in Scotland for living expenses or England for tuition and living expenses does not exist. While some Scholarships exist, there currently is no way to efficiently determine socio-economic status

meaning the scholarship schemes that exist tend to be given out on merit basis which as literature indicates is usually not the poorest candidates.

Apart from the issues tied to the private provision of a service like university education which has been analysed above, there is also what Le Grand (2011) refers to as the “extent of public service motivation of providers” which was discussed in chapter 2, section 3. The question though is how do you measure public service motivation? All participants were asked for their thoughts and preferences on service provision by the government as was common under classic PA or involvement by private and third sector providers as is common with NPM.

Overwhelmingly, responses were that it did not matter, who did the provision, provided the services were available to those who needed it and it was of good quality. A comment from a participant is provided below.

“I do not have a problem with private providers of public services provided it represents value for money. If you are going to allow profit-driven organizations into the market, you need to regulate the market to avoid excessive profits going to shareholders and to maintain quality”
(S035)

The comment above which was made by a UK based participant suggests that standards need to be enforced through regulation. It is not just assumed that because an individual or body is operating in public service delivery, their primary interest is the best interests of the public.

The comments above are in concert with Hood et al. (1999) in “*Regulation inside Government*” and its central thesis that, in examining the relationship between NPM reforms (characterized by relaxation of some controls including deregulation to allow private provision), and regulations over 20 years; that NPM reforms have resulted in the tightening of other forms of control (that is more regulation). Based on Falconer (1997) and Le Grand (2011), NPM reforms, at least in the UK result in quasi-markets where there are still

significant government resources; for example, government-backed loans in England or tuition paid by Government in Scotland. Regulations then need to be enacted to ensure the interest of the government is protected and the interests of the “consumers” are also protected and they are not taken advantage of by unscrupulous, non-governmental providers. The implicit assumptions here are that there is a guarantee that the government always has the consumer’s interests at heart and would never take advantage and the non-governmental service provider might not.

Regulatory bodies in the UK including Audit Scotland and the Office of Students in England list what they do which includes: checking that organisations that spend public money use it properly, efficiently and effectively; helping students, regardless of socioeconomic status get into and succeed in HE; informing students so they can exercise choice, voice; ensuring students get quality which can set them up for the future; protecting students interests (value for money) respectively (Audit Scotland 2016; Office of students 2018). The Nigeria Universities Commission which is the body tasked with regulation university education on the other hand lists: approving HE institutions and their programs, ensuring quality and channel for external support as what it does (NUC 2018).

The differences are that bodies in the UK highlight the fact that the market in HE is a quasi-market and highlight equity and choice, even though no qualified candidate is disenfranchised due to economic status. These confirm the quasi-market feature of NPM as highlighted in the framework. Regulators in Nigeria highlight none of these. It speaks of markets and choice but says nothing of equity. Nothing is said of upper limits on what universities can charge. What is the point of choice if qualified candidates cannot exercise the choice because they cannot pay as findings indicate?

Nigerian participants suggested that the extent to which strong regulations exists to manage the activities of private providers is limited. While some universities are perceived to be of good quality, some are not. Participants also

indicated that, relative to public universities, private universities tend to have a higher number of unaccredited programs.

The findings above suggest that beyond issues of accessibility due to prohibitive costs which is the focus of this study, significant issues tied to private provision exist and can be explored in future studies.

The comments and the analysis above has similarities to the conclusions drawn by the likes of Larbi (1999) and Ochwa-Echel (2013) reviewed in literature where they took the position that capacity concerns including the ability to manage contracts, monitoring and reporting systems, regulations etc. might hinder the extent to which the reforms can be implemented and can have negative outcomes.

In summary, theoretically, NPM reforms as it concerns private provision is not universal looking at Scotland and Nigeria. Where private provision exists in developed countries like England, access is not affected because of universal provision of loans to all qualifying students. These loans systems do not exist in Nigeria meaning, the poorest candidates are disenfranchised. From a theoretical viewpoint, the system of university education in Nigeria, including private provision does not appear to be quasi-markets as expected from literature and the framework, but pure a market.

The next sections address other relevant features of NPM as identified by Hood (1991) based on themes earlier discussed, their presence in university education in target locations and attempts to show an intersection between developed and developing nation as a result of reforms.

8.5. Service provision within the global economy

One thing most scholars of PA agree on, based on the literature reviewed is that reforms that favour private sector management practices, theoretically conceptualised as NPM is a global phenomenon. As this thesis has identified, most of the reviews of NPM has focussed on either developed or developing

countries and few have compared the two variables. Various other academic outputs as reviewed in chapters 2 and 3, have made clear links on the role played by developed countries and supranational bodies that they dominate in promoting reforms which favour an NPM or neoliberal approach. Scholars including Larbi (1999) highlight that the rise to power of Conservatives in the UK and the UK in the late 1970s which were considered pro-market and anti-public sector influenced the strategy within the Washington-based institutions which were to have a profound influence on reforms implemented by developing nations in the 1980s and onwards. This and most of the literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3, suggests that the impacts of these reforms go beyond considerations in the minor context of administrative values but in the wider context of political systems, ideology and the role of government.

The analytical framework highlights some of the drivers of the reforms to include economic and political imperialism, IFIs, donor nations and SAPs.

In terms of administrative values, the values proposed to developing countries appeared to be the same values that had been adopted by early adopters (developed countries). This is highlighted by Former British PM, Margaret Thatcher's assertion that there is no alternative (TINA) (Berlinski 2011).

Evaluating these reforms with developmental theories as discussed in chapter 3, where modernisation theory was defined as the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies shows similarities in the reforms and development theories. Greig et al., (2007) described modernisation as a process of global homogenisation. However, Nhema and Zinyama (2016) suggest that under modernisation, the relationship between poor and rich nations should be mutually beneficial.

Question is; are the relationships under this global reformed system mutually beneficial?

Peacock and Lundgren (2009) posit that there are similarities between modern developmental theories (which the analysis above shows, bears similarities with market-type reforms) and colonialism with the emphasis on values, principles and common goals, as well as perceptions of "the other" and

paternalism. This bears similarities with the “extension of civilisation” justification for colonialism (Greig et al., 2007).

The discussion here is also approached by many scholars from a neoliberal hegemony perspective as discussed in chapter 3 and the power imbalances that exist between rich and poor nations. All these different perspectives and employed in the further analysis.

The earlier question asked will attempt to be answered by another question which it is hoped that the proceeding sections will partly answer and that is; perhaps these reforms can be considered to be mutually beneficial if the period of colonialism could also have been considered to be mutually beneficial to the colonisers and those being colonised.

The next section evaluates corporatisation which is another feature of NPM and attempts to identify its presence in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland.

Corporatisation (units organised by product) of university education

From a university education perspective, the feature above based on themes developed from data and the analytical framework speaks to the purpose and activities of universities. It refers to the reorganization of universities into units that are responsive to market changes. In this section, this is taken to mean business activities of universities, decision-making process on course development, the operation of multi-site campuses particularly multi-national campuses and international student recruitment.

As highlighted in chapter 7, participants, particularly British participants, most of whom were senior academics felt that in course of their professional lives, universities had changed from being an end in its own right, and places where people were trained to be thinkers, to become more instrumental and materialistic and one that just served the purpose of providing labor to the job market.

A look at the title of this section and the position of participants in the paragraph above suggests a friction between perceptions of the role of university education and a role that based on NPM reforms requires universities to be positioned as business and this provided themes explored in this section which are international students, external campuses, and decision making in course development which is all explored below.

Considerations in course development

Most participants suggested that decisions on what programs to run were now driven by what can generate the highest volume of revenue. Consequently, this section evaluates the decision-making processes behind course development in the modern university brought on by participants' comments on the theme.

Data to support this is provided below:

"I am concerned that in some programs that I teach on, that there are not enough Scottish students. I am not saying there should be quotas and I am not saying that we should not have overseas or international students. What I'm saying is that Y university is fundamentally a Scottish institution and should serve our local community which is Edinburgh.

We should also bring in overseas students, but I think we need to get the right mix and on certain programs, international students join expecting to sit alongside Scottish students and get a Scottish experience and it does not happen. They are meeting a lot of other international students but meeting very few Scottish students. I think that universities are doing it to ensure financial security and they are targeting overseas markets to ensure financial security but sometimes there needs to be a stronger focus on more local markets" (SA18)

“Because of programs on the TV like CSI Miami, Las Vegas etc., students in large numbers are drawn to programs like forensic science, even though there are not enough jobs in those fields” (SA20)

“Fundamentally for universities, presently, a quest for financial autonomy and security sees them growing student numbers to grow university revenues and this takes priority over issues like, can students get jobs or how can universities help them?”

I am glad this is confidential because when I talk with students, I have that honest conversation with them that if you do a certain course, you need to be aware that there are programs that you may be less likely to get a job out of” (SA26)

“Universities tend to follow government direction. If government prioritises access, universities are keen on access, particularly if there is funding attached to it.

The incentive right now is to grow income and sometimes that means popular courses rather than practical courses or even courses that are more likely to lead to jobs for students doing those courses” (SO33)

Le Grand (2011) discussed the public-sector motivation of service providers in a quasi-market and this was earlier justified as the rationale for strong regulations in markets to ensure that providers do not take advantage of consumers.

Market-based decisions are primarily made, based on what can yield the highest rates of return, not what serves the economy best, is in student's interest or what some university chiefs think should be taught, except if these are all the same. If this means focusing on high-demand and expensive MBAs which are relatively cheaper to teach compared to say, medicine, then so be it.

Universities rolling out programs in forensic science, business, journalism can be economically justified by demand and this meets the choice and efficiency justifications for market systems. Attracting customers that can pay a premium or “rent” by providing choice is economically efficient and highlights market principles in service delivery. However, what are the implications of a marketised university with the outlook described above on the local economy and does the local economy factor into a market-driven economy? The commentators above who are incidentally different from the commentators who argued that university education served a higher purpose than just preparing people for careers, thought universities should primarily focus on their local communities. However, there appears to be a disconnect between the market-based approach in the system which they are all part of and what they think the system should be. A market-based approach emphasizes the efficient allocation of resources, choice, voice, exit with minimal or no government intervention. As earlier analysed, only government intervention can address the equity versus efficiency conflicts that arise in NPM. Based on NPM, if the only things that should be taught in universities are business courses because they yield the best profit margins and attract international students who pay the highest charges, then that is what happens.

Responses from individuals above are largely critical of the perceived marketisation of university education, yet, it can be argued that they are also the primary drivers of marketisation at the institutional level. The reason for this summation is provided below.

At undergraduate level, expanding student numbers can be justified by accessibility and social mobility drives and even programs that are less likely to offer direct jobs like forensic science and journalism can be rationalised because most undergraduates do not end up in jobs that match their degrees and are provided with a tuition that will allow them to thrive in different environments. Students at Masters level are likely looking to differentiate themselves from having identified a niche and it is arguably demand driven.

Research degrees, on the other hand, attract different considerations but have also seen an explosion in numbers.

Matos (2006) in his thesis *“PhD: What is it?”* presented the data below from supervisors and PhD students.

Supervisors	Candidates
I think everybody who is doing a PhD wants desperately to be an academic	There must be an academic career coming out of this
It is a rite of passage to enter academia	I would like to be an academic
The PhD has become an entrance requirement for a career in academia	It's a start for a research career

Table 8.2. Doctoral outcomes

The purpose of a PhD as indicated above is one that should lead to a job in academia, yet the same source indicates that over 50% of new PhDs now work outside academia. Based on this, the question needs to be asked; why are universities and academics taking on so many PhDs, when its sole purpose should be to train for jobs in research and academia when there are limited jobs in this field? Is it just to increase revenue from funding bodies or more importantly in the case of self-funding PhDs as is increasingly common in non-pure science fields, to raise revenue by admitting students that would not have been admitted on scholarships? These are questions academics and universities that question marketisation and its implications need to contemplate.

In Scotland, at the undergraduate level, the government's policy of no tuition means that some level of control can still be exercised on what programs are offered and what government will fund. Exercising this would, however, appear to infringe on the NPM's promise of choice.

International student market

Participants indicated that in addition to economic decisions driving course contents, recruitment was often focused on international students with significant marketing drives undertaken. These decisions were attributed to the apparent market orientation of universities. Consequently, participants were asked to discuss what drives international student recruitment and any potential implications of this. Data on this theme is provided below:

“Scottish universities’ competitors are other Scottish universities but also English and Welsh Universities. If for example, English and Welsh universities get £9000 in fees from undergrad students and Scottish universities are getting less, then there is a shortfall. How then do you recover that shortfall in undergrad tuition fees? You address that shortfall by increasing postgraduate tuition fees and increasingly target overseas students and online students” (SO32)

“The government does not pay up to the £9000/year charged in England. This is why students from the rest of the UK and the world are sought after because they pay more.

Talk to the accountants, you have accountants who will say this is what we need in terms of income generation, these are who we need to target, its big business and its income generation.

So, for example, with our MBA, if we have 50 students paying big money, that can offset other things, so what they would say is one program subsidizes another.

When programs are developed, there is always a discussion of, we can only afford this if we find other income streams” (SA25)

“When the UK leaves the EU in a few years’ time, I would put money on the Scottish government asking universities to charge EU students which would allow them to fund more places for local students” (SO33)

“I am a business manager and my job is to grow the business” (SO31)

“Universities do not admit international students to be international, it is mainly about the money these international students are paying and 90% exploitation” (SO34)

What appears clear based on the comments above is that universities prioritise the recruitment of students that they can charge the highest fees, which is not always the local students. Based on the analytical framework which views university education as marketized, such outcomes are expected with reduced direct funding by the government.

There also appears to be a conflict between the traditional PA position on tuition policy in Scotland which is one of no-tuition, justified on the basis of accessibility for all, which is only possible with caps on student numbers and the fact that this policy creates a situation where universities have to prioritise the recruitment of non-local students to remain financially competitive.

The comments above raises a question of where the international students which Scottish universities rely on to raise revenues and remain competitive are coming from. This is subsequently addressed.

All the commentators above indicated that universities were positioned as businesses.

This positioning conforms with a market approach to PA service delivery where service delivering bodies adopt private sector approaches as the analytical framework shows. It does not, however, conform to earlier views of participants who suggested that universities should conform to ideals that are characteristic of a classic PA approach to PA.

Evaluating the comments above and participant’s suggestions that non-local students are targeted because they attract higher charges conforms to Prebisch (1971)’s description of dependency theory as analysed in chapter 3,

where developed countries (core) attract resources from developing (the periphery). Based on the justifications for these reforms and their supposed benefits of spurring development and bringing development to all, the question is; what is the periphery getting in return? This is addressed later on in this section.

International campuses and online programs

In addition to discussions above, participants also highlighted developments which see students studying for programs online, with significant numbers of those who study this way being resident in developing countries. This is made possible by developments in information technology and both the analytical framework in figure 8.1 and the features of NPM as discussed by Hood (1991) highlight IT as one of the drivers of NPM reforms.

Another development is the proliferation of external campuses of universities predominantly from developed nations in developing ones. External campuses, which in some cases are run in conjunction with local universities is more common in South-Asia and the Middle-East, while online courses are more widespread.

While the developments described above was not an initial line of inquiry, it was mentioned by some Scottish participants that as part of their duties, they had to travel to South-Asia to teach. This is one of the emergent mini-themes described in the methodology section. Based on this, they were further asked, if the models in which they and their institutions operated were in the best interests of the countries in which they operated.

Responses included the following:

“It is one the things as an academic, I feel guilty about. I go for instance to X country in South-Asia to teach and we charge a premium to do this, probably £14000 to £15000 for a student to do a Masters in X country

and that is a massive amount of money that most X citizens cannot afford. Only the elite can afford, and that money, most of it comes back to Y university in Edinburgh, which pays my salary, which pays the mortgage of my house but does not overtly benefit X country. It may benefit country X in terms of the students I teach and their expertise and that they grow and develop, but I often feel guilty that we are working under an imperialistic model. That we are going out, charging premium prices and it sometimes feels like asset stripping from these countries. That is the one side, on the other side, I have a wife and two daughters, I have a mortgage to pay. I work for a university that is often requiring me to do this, but do I feel that there could be a better model, do I feel that my institution could do more to support local education, to support HE in these overseas countries? Yes, I do but for capitalist reasons do not do so.

So, do I think the system is flawed, Yes, I do, do I know how to fix it, no, I do not” (SO26)

“If international students stopped coming tomorrow, we would all (UK universities) be in big trouble, that’s clear because a significant percentage of all our income across the whole UK comes on the back of international markets” (SO32).

“There are no restrictions on the numbers of non-EU students we can recruit, and this is a way of shoring up income because government funding is continually reducing so if the university wants to maintain staff numbers and the services they offer, they have to get money from somewhere” (SA29)

The sentiments above were echoed by a couple of other academics with one suggesting that universities do not pursue international aspirations to be international but do it because there is money to be made.

The data here can also be analysed with dependency theory and the argument that resources are moving from the periphery to the core as analysed by Presbisch (1971) and Amin (1976). Here funds are moving from poor countries to rich countries. In a global market economy where services are provided by institutions that have a competitive advantage, the development above can be described as efficient allocation of resources. Letting the market work in this case with little government intervention appears to favour institutions based in the developed world whose services are desired and can provide their service across borders. This development did not involve the numbers and the resources it now does before the 1980s, and before the introduction of NPM reforms, SAPs, or the Washington Consensus. As reviewed in chapter 2. What these reforms did was to open many developing nations including Nigeria up to businesses and investments from primarily the developing world. Liberalisation of monetary policies in many developing countries also resulted in unprecedented devaluation meaning any business exchanges favoured richer nations.

The wider reforms were promoted on the assumption that it would be beneficial to all involved and the question is; have these reforms been beneficial? Are students who are paying a premium to study in foreign institutions getting value for their money and are the countries these students come from getting value for the resources taken out to pay for these services? The commentator above does not seem to think they are getting enough to justify their outlay. The literature reviewed including Larbi (1999) and Williamson (2002) on the wider effects on the reforms suggest that they have not had the desired effect in developing nations. The dependency theory of development also indicates that the outcomes of the exchanges between developed and developing countries appear to disproportionately favour developed countries.

UK based university administrators made comments that some developing nations were choosing to outsource the education of their people to other countries and that UK universities were only selling a service for which there

was demand. It was further suggested that UK universities would not, for example, go to North Korea to set up operations and that it was left the governments of the developing countries to decide on the roles played by external agents in their countries.

The comments here again indicate that NPM and market-type reforms cannot only be considered from an administrative values perspective but from a political ideology perspective and the role of the state in society. What the participants here appear to be suggesting is that governments have the option of implementing regulations which can ensure that more of their people study locally and resources are not taken out of the country. This would address resources going to the core from the periphery as dependency theory suggests. This would involve significant legislation to protect the interest of the country and would also be in direct contrast with NPM, market-type reforms its characteristic of little government intervention and letting the market decide.

To successfully do this in a democratic environment such as Nigeria which is significantly different from North Korea as suggested by participants would involve the country providing services of the quantity and quality desired by consumers. This is likely to involve more government intervention and resources than the university sector currently receives. This would also likely run counter to marketisation reforms and favour traditional approaches to PA and service delivery in the manner suggested earlier by PO15 and PO16 of alternative approaches to running the economy due to peculiarities of Nigeria.

A theme closely related to discussions in this section so far is the movement of students primarily from developing countries like Nigeria to developed ones. This supports most of the data and analysis in this section so far. In the context of the analytical framework, this supports the view of university education as a market and the implications in a global market of customers exercising their choice to seek out service providers they desire. This can be considered a fourth dimension to the State, Federal and private provision of university education in Nigeria. As the data and analysis in chapter 7 and findings in this

section which indicates that universities in developed countries seek out those that can pay the highest charges show that, those able to exercise the choice to move abroad for education are likely to be the richest in society.

The discussions below also serve as a point of intersectionality between the university systems in developed and developing countries. While most of the data in this chapter support the view that there are features of marketisation and consequently NPM reforms evident in the university sectors in both Nigeria and Scotland, from a cross-national viewpoint of the reforms, there appear to be some direct benefits to developed countries. Similar benefits to developing countries are not immediately clear or quantifiable and this does not support the justifications of the reforms with supposed benefits to all.

From a developmental theory viewpoint, this can be explained by dependency theory.

The next section discusses this theme which is aligned with data and analysis in this section in some detail.

Nigerian student's International mobility.

In 2010, 38,376 Nigerian students moved to study in a foreign country. Top destinations included the UK, the USA and Germany (Marshall 2013). While almost 1.5 million students are enrolled locally, Nigeria's outbound students grew by 45% between 2010 and 2013 with estimates that there are 71, 351 degree-seeking students abroad (WES 2017).

Students naturally mainly moved to foreign countries that influenced their own countries through colonialism, with students from the former French colonies moving to France and those from former British colonies moving to the UK, USA, Canada and Australia (Marshall 2013). Other considerations include common languages which explained the move to the USA, Canada and Australia which were not colonising countries in the traditional sense of the term (WES 2017).

An area a future research might explore is the primary reasons why students feel they need to move from their own countries to foreign countries to study. While students from developed countries also move to other countries to study in significantly smaller numbers, this is usually for cultural reasons as championed by the likes of the ERASMUS program.

For Nigerian students, while cultural enrichment might form a rationale for moving to a foreign country to study, this is unlikely to be the major reason for the move. Some of the shortcomings of the education sector in Nigeria and many developing countries which prompt students to move abroad based on secondary data discussed in chapter 5, and primary data from interviews include; habitually insufficient government budgets for education which results in inadequate facilities, poor faculty quality and poor quality of teaching (Marshall 2013; WES 2017). Others include inadequate research policies, the disparity between social needs and education on offer, course content that has not been updated in decades and not updated to meet societal needs or developments in technology and science. The comments of Nigerian participants on why students preferred private universities and why some travelled abroad correspond with secondary data discussed above.

Discussions above appear to be interesting factors that can be explored but in the context of this research and its focus, government funding and its implications are briefly explored.

Nigeria's 2017 budget allocated N448.01Billion to all levels of education which represents 6% of the total budget. Using an estimated exchange rate of N450 to £1, this works out to just under £1billion pounds for the whole education sector of a country with just under 200 million individuals which are largely made up of school-age people according to NBS (2017). In real terms, the education budget of Nigeria in 1980 when adjusted for inflation is higher than what is today because in the early 1980s N1 exchanged for more than \$1, now \$1 exchanges for over N300. The British Pound to the Naira in the early 1980s was on par, however, in 2017, £1 now exchanges for almost N500. While it

appears that funding for the education sector has increased year on year, the reality is that it has reduced, even with an exponential demand for education.

UKCISA (2017) puts the average yearly numbers of Nigerians studying in HE institutions in the UK between 2014 and 2016 at over 17000. Conservatively assuming that the cost of annual tuition is £10000, even though this can range from £9000 to up to £30000 depending on location and course type and also conservatively assuming that living expenses amount to £10000/year, this works out to £340m/year. This is over a third of the total 2017 education budget of all levels of education at the Federal level.

Implications of this analysis is that if the conditions which students seek that make them travel abroad for university education can be provided in the country, more Nigerians might study in Nigeria and the country does not miss out economically on what appears to be many times the total annual budget of education given similar number of Nigerians in Canada, the USA, Australia and many other countries.

Another and perhaps a more significant implication of a significant number of Nigerians seeking HE education abroad is that there are no local statistics on the numbers of students that return. Some participants suggested a some do not return.

Comments on this from a UK based participant who served as a policy advisor for a former UK Prime Minister is provided below.

"I am aware of the problem of qualified people moving from developing countries to developed ones, particularly in the health area. When I was in the British Government, I went to Malawi and I remember a British aid worker telling me there were 4 doctors left for a particular speciality and all the others had gone to the UK.

I do not know what to do about that. It seems to me that the logical thing to do is to have some sort of emigration control that stops professionals

or even students from going abroad, but given that most students are funded privately, there are limits to what can be done” (SO35)

The implications of this for Nigeria and by extension many developing nations are that they lose the resources taken out of the country to pay for education, and also potentially lose out on the end product.

Evaluating this in the context of the framework, in an NPM or market-based system which is characterised by competition, choice, voice, exit, trade liberalisation, deregulated markets and reduced government intervention, the extent to which government has control is limited.

Another factor as it applies to Nigeria and many developing countries is that NPM provides funds in many ways for a service which competing providers from diverse sectors compete for, as in a quasi-market. As identified for Nigeria, the system functions less like a quasi-market as theorised by NPM and more like a pure market. The consequences of this are that the government has little control which can be exercised as SO35 suggests.

This development can also be analysed using dependency theory as reviewed in chapter 3. and the analogies of the “core” (developed nations) and the “periphery” (developing nations) where resources from the periphery are driven to the core resulting in development at the core but underdevelopment in the periphery (Prebisch 1971; Emmanuel 1972).

A potential solution to address this issue floated by (SO35) was immigration controls by the core nations. It was further indicated that net-student exporting countries including China and India are also strengthening their universities sectors with expectations that in the next decades, the number of students looking to study abroad will reduce. However, the participant also indicated that this development will be devastating to universities in the UK which heavily rely on international students. This position was backed up by Scottish participants SO31, SO32 and SO33 who were university finance officers and

secretaries. They all indicated that just a 20% reduction in international revenues will have significant negative implications for UK universities.

The findings here raise the question; given that the neoliberal system appears to be beneficial to the “core” countries based on dependency theory, would they, through the Washington based institutions that they dominate impose conditions tied to finance that would reverse the primary thesis of dependency theory? That is, policies which reverse the trends of funds and personnel moving from developing to developed countries? Literature and findings suggest otherwise.

The next section discusses corporatisation in the context of NPM reforms in university education as it affects Nigeria.

Nigeria

While Nigerian universities also run multi-site campuses, these are usually within the country and are typically within the same state. International students studying in Nigeria tend to be students who are in the country primarily for reasons excluding education. They are usually children of non-Nigerians working in the country as indicated by some university administrators interviewed. As a result, the scope for securing additional revenue from these sources in the manner that developed countries like Scotland can are limited. Official data does not exist on the numbers of international students studying within Nigeria or revenue raised from them.

The issue of course development at university level being market-driven bears similarities with findings in Scotland, with some of those interviewed suggesting that the proliferation and expansion of business schools and faculties can be attributed to this, particularly in the private universities. Some participants suggested that the public universities, particularly the older ones are not as receptive to market demands with some running outdated courses and program contents.

Participants were asked if universities in Nigeria ran online programs to attract international students and if Nigerian universities had foreign operations as it appears to be the case for universities based in developed nations like Scotland. Overwhelmingly, the responses from participants were that they were unaware of an instance of this being the case. Instead, they indicated that the trend was for Nigerians to move abroad.

Findings here, based on secondary data and primary data indicates that there are certain direct benefits of university education marketisation which seemingly only accrued to developed countries.

Comparing corporatisation in Nigeria and Scotland

This has traditionally been a feature of universities, with most universities considered aggregates of a number of colleges, faculties or departments which can be located in a contained geographic area or a wider area but typically within the same region or country. While universities in Nigeria still conform to the description above, this is not the case for some universities in Scotland which now have a combination of the structures described above as well as multi-national operations. This might stem from the demand for the services that these institutions offer and correspondingly the inability of the local universities in developing nations to exploit similar opportunities because such a demand for the services that they offer does not appear to exist.

Other features of this tenet that were explored concern desired target markets for these institutions and their multiple corporate entities and how these decisions are made by university education insiders. The overwhelming view is that these are market-driven. Some interviewees were not happy with this trend because they held a view that academia and university education should be driven by more than what can bring in the highest volume of economic resources short-term. Findings support the idea of university education as a market-driven service where resources are efficiently managed which confirms the presence of this feature of NPM.

Nigerian universities particularly the private ones are also efficient allocators in terms of the services they offer and their target markets and while the government-run universities are beginning to catch up, the extent to which they can exploit these arrangements are limited due to institutional inefficiencies that have been built into the systems over-time seemingly due to underfunding.

Evaluating findings on corporatisation and its implications for developed and developing countries

As analysed in chapters 2 and 3 with the literature on NPM, neoliberalism, the Washington consensus, SAPs and policy transfer, a major feature of reforms involves liberalisation of trade (goods and services), which is justified by the assumption that it will bring prosperity for all involved. From the findings above, the perception from participants is that the benefits of marketisation reforms accrue more to developed countries than to developing ones, and with estimates that the international student market is worth up to £28BN to the UK, \$37BN to the USA etc. this is indicative. The benefits to host or net student-exporting countries are difficult to measure and suggestions are not made here that there is no benefit to these countries.

It needs to be acknowledged that national governments of developing countries which host foreign universities or export students should have some control on the activities of the foreign universities that operate in their countries and if they are allowed to operate, the universities are legally doing no harm.

Revisiting literature on policy transfer in chapter 3 and the power dynamics between developed and developing countries as well as the analytical framework, and the driving forces of NPM (IFIs and donor countries), the question needs to be asked; how can it be guaranteed that when developed countries suggest policies to developing countries or impose conditions as a result of financial aid, that the policies are in the best interest of the developing nations?

From a dependency theory of development perspective, it does not appear that such guarantees can be provided. Given comments from university administrators that a 20% drop in foreign revenue will significantly affect the operations of UK universities, it can be argued that it is not in the interest of developed countries to promote policies that would reverse the trends described thus far that sees millions of students from the poorest countries in the world moving to developed nations for university and paying premiums in the process.

Students from developed countries are not moving to the developing countries to study and pay premiums in the numbers that students from the developing countries are moving to the developed ones. Students from developed countries are not taking online courses from universities based in developing countries in the numbers that students from developing countries are taking online programs from universities in developed countries.

Universities from developing countries are not setting up campuses in developed countries like universities from developed countries are setting up universities in developing countries.

Funds and people are not moving to many developing countries based on the phenomena described above as funds and people are moving to developed countries based on the phenomena described above.

No literature the researcher is aware of supports the opposite of what is described above.

Going back to the literature, justifications for NPM, neoliberalism or even the Washington Consensus, is efficient allocation of resources and choice of benefit to all nations involved? While efficiency and choice are evident, the benefit to all does not appear to be as evident.

The next sections present and discuss findings on the presence of other features of NPM in university education in Nigeria and Scotland based on themes developed during data collection and analysis.

8.6. Economy in resource use (Doing more with less)

This emphasizes reducing the costs of service provision to the state while also increasing service quality (Hood 1991; Falconer 1997; Larbi 1999). Theories evaluated which contributed to the development of the analytical framework including NPM, the Washington Consensus, neoliberalism all have this feature in common. This regards a reduction in direct government funding to potentially be replaced by other modes of funding public services which involve direct contributions from service users.

Findings in chapter 7, on the legal structures of universities in Scotland, established that they were charities which have the powers to raise funds through multiple means. The focus of this study on undergraduate tuition for students classed as home students means the alternative multiple means through which universities raise funds including research funding and how this compares over time are beyond the scope of this study. Scottish universities however still receive some funding from the government as tuition fees for students classed as home students. This is within the scope of this study.

The audit of the higher education sector in Scotland found that overall funding to the sector had reduced in real terms by 4% since 2010/2011 (Audit Scotland 2016).

Research participants who were university administrators including university secretaries and finance officers were asked about overall government funding levels and if they were having to do more with less when compared to historical funding levels and some responses include those below:

“Total value to Scottish universities is less than that of English universities and we teach students with fewer resources and inputs. England currently has no caps on student numbers, but Scotland has caps because the government can only pay for a fixed number of students or reduce funding per head” (SO32)

“There is a limit to or a pot of resource that the Scottish government has got, and they do not want to provide any more than that. Interestingly, they still want as many students as possible to go to university” (SO33)

Participants indicated that compared to England where universities mostly charge students the total allowed by law, the Scottish government does not pay up to what is paid by each student in England as highlighted by responses below.

“The amount the Scottish government gives universities is less than £9000/year, we can charge £9000 to students from the rest of the UK, essentially what the English universities charge. If they put their fees up to £9250, we would put up our fees as well” (SO32)

“In most cases, no, there are six funding groups and for programs like Medicine, the government pays a lot, between £15000 and £20000 because it is more expensive while for other programs, it is below £9000” (SO31)

Participants were pressed further based on these responses about how Scottish universities remained competitive relative to English universities as a result of government funding that does not match funding flows in England and student caps.

“We grow alternative sources of funding” (SO34)

The response of this individual needs to be properly contextualised because his reality based on the response above might have to do with the institution he works for which is a Russell group university. The response below by another individual puts this into proper context.

“Universities have a lot more flexibility in the way they raise their incomes, for some that is a good thing, for some, that is a bad thing. Some universities are finding it very difficult. If universities cannot attract students, which is a major source of non-government funding, they are in trouble. This is already evident in England where as a result of no-caps and equal funding, students are drawn to elite universities at the expense of smaller universities because the charges are the same and there are no caps” (SO32).

Participants indicated that overall, there is more money in the university sector than there has ever been, though the university sector was correspondingly bigger than it has ever been and overly reliant on international students.

Scottish universities get the incomes from a number of sources which include: the Scottish Government through the Scottish funding council which pays tuition for undergraduates from Scotland and the EU; research funding from Scottish and UK Governments, the EU and the private sector; fees from students from the rest of the UK; services; and uncapped fees from non-EU students.

Audit Scotland (2016) found that 94% of the economic costs of teaching publicly funded students were recovered by universities in 2014/2015 while for the following year, the figure was 90%.

A reduction in overall government funding as identified here is characteristic of what is expected of a system operating under an NPM approach to service delivery as highlighted in the analytical framework.

Nigeria

Based on the literature reviewed in chapter 5, and primary data presented in chapter 7, there are public (State and Federal) and private universities in Nigeria. The private universities receive no direct subsidies from the government, so this section focuses on public universities. Each state individually funds universities under its control and the data is not publicly

readily available. Federal universities, on the other hand, are centrally funded so some information on funding trends exist and this is provided.

The Federal Government's recurrent grants to Federal universities grew from N530million in 1988 to N9.6Billion in 1999, however in real terms, the grants to Federal universities in 1999 was just 30% of the grants in 1988 despite an expansion of the university system and an explosion in enrolments (Saint et al., 2003).

The devaluation of the Naira is attributed to SAPs of the 1980s which emphasized using the private sector as the vehicle for economic development through commercialisation and privatisation of state-owned enterprises and other service delivery apparatuses in line with conditionalities imposed by IFIs through SAPs. A key element of these developments was the exchange rate (Williamson 1990). Prior to the SAP implementation in 1986 which saw a fixed exchange rate abandoned in favour of a floating rate, \$1USD exchanged for N 0.77. In 2017, \$1USD exchanges for over N360. In the early 1980s, £1 exchanged for N1 while in 2017, £1 exchanges for about N500 (Trading economics 2018).

Interviewees who were university administrators and senior public service workers in education ministries were asked if direct funding levels by governments at both State and Federal levels have kept up with requirements and increasing demand, and also how funding in real terms now compares with funding in previous decades and some of their responses include the following:

“Nigerian universities are underfunded. This is why students are now being asked to pay higher tuition. While federal universities never used to charge tuition, they now do, though charges are comparatively low, and the universities are still heavily subsidized by the government. Some state universities on the other hand now charge fees that rival what is charged in the federal universities because the state

governments do not fund adequately, meaning the universities charge what can cover staff pay” (NO17)

“State Governments are responsible for paying staff salaries and funding capital projects however in recent times particularly in Lagos and Ogun States, the funding has reduced significantly and universities in a bid to stay open now levy charges that cover most of the university running costs.

As you said earlier, the last tuition you paid in X university was N14000, the university now charges 10X that on average” (NO13)

“Universities are not well funded at all and salaries do not get paid on time and sometimes not for months which is one of the main reasons why Government universities are on strike all the time and are perceived to be of low quality” (NA7)

The perception of individuals interviewed is that universities are underfunded generally and relative to funding in previous decades. This position is backed up by secondary literature reviewed in chapter 5, section 3, including Ogunyinka (2014).

The implications of reduced funding from traditional government sources are that universities have resorted to market practices and charges to make up the funding differences which confirms NPM and a neoliberal approach to management as the analytical framework shows. Practical implications of this particularly on access have already been discussed in chapter 7, with findings indicating that the poorest in society are being priced out of university education.

Findings and analysis here as with Scotland also shows a reduction in government funding, though this is more pronounced for Nigeria. This is a feature of NPM and a market approach to service delivery as indicated by Hood (1991) and the analytical framework.

Comparing “disciplined resource use/reduction in government funding” in Nigeria and Scotland

A reduction in direct funding by the government to universities (or other agencies offering public services) features prominently as one of the features of NPM as evident on the table in Table 8.1. and the framework in figure 8.1. The justifications are that organizations will have to function more on a market basis which should make for efficient allocation of economic resources as well as savings for the government.

Again, going back to the literature on NPM, these are supposed to be global and there should be an expectation that developed countries will exhibit this feature more than developing ones because they are its prime advocates.

In real terms, based on primary data from the interviewees and secondary data provided in the last section, funding to Nigerian universities has decreased even with an exponential growth in demand and enrollment. Funding to universities has been replaced in the in a market-based fashion as indicated by the analytical framework which suggests direct charges to service users. This development as it affects Nigeria also suggests that the Nigerian university sector has adopted policies suggested by various publications discussed in the literature review including World Bank (1988; 1992; 1994; 1999) etc. on approaches to managing HE in developing nations which all argue for less state investment and more private contributions. From an economic efficiency perspective, services are still being provided and people who can afford it are paying what the institutions are charging to access the services they offer, and the government is making a saving. However, this ignores social implications earlier discussed, which showed that a significant portion of the population is likely priced out of university education. Findings here indicate that the idea that a reduction in spending stimulates efficiency is only valid if the government is happy for the poorest to go without the service.

In Scotland, from a tuition-only perspective, there appears to be relatively little reduction in government funding because the government directly pays tuition

for Scottish and EU students. Relatively speaking when considered comparatively with England, there is arguably discipline in resource use “in the short term” because lesser funds are invested upfront for tuition for arguably the same output. However, in the long run, because students pay back their loans in England, the system in England appears more efficient.

In summary, while this feature of NPM is evident in Nigeria, it is less evident in Scotland. However, the point of this section was to establish the presence of this feature of NPM as highlighted in the analytical framework in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland. This has been established for both countries.

The next section addresses the presence of market practices in the university sectors in Nigeria including competition, contracting out and a performance culture which are other features of NPM and market-type reforms, and their implications.

8.7. Competition

Major positions within NPM and supporting theories as analyzed in chapter 2 are that: individuals are the best judges of their own welfare and; the best allocator of resources is not the government but the market (Falconer 1997). Based on the above, it is assumed that public service delivery is best served by market practices including rivalry and competition between service providers, which should foster competition and provide the customer choice (Ferlie et al. 1996). Under this system, the service provider is compelled through market forces to improve service in a more competitive environment, in opposition to Weberian PA where the government monopolizes service provision and cooperation is encouraged instead of competition. From the citizen-customers perspective, under this system, they are transformed into a consumer with rights to choose and potentially exit in a more diverse and competitive marketplace (Falconer 1997; Le Grand 2011).

As analysed in chapter 2, competition as a feature of NPM focuses on the promotion of competition in the public sector or in this case the university sector with aims of lowering costs and improving services.

Competition in Scotland

Competition is considered in the context of definitions provided above which is, competing providers compelled by market forces to provide the best possible services at the best possible costs. A more expansive view of competition describes it as, the rivalry that exists among sellers aiming to achieve goals such as increasing sales volume, market share and increasing profits by varying marketing mix elements like the product, price, promotion and distribution.

Another way to view competition considers not just what the institutions themselves do to gain competitive advantage but the external pressures put on them by regulators to facilitate competition which is expected to benefit service users. This would include schemes like National Student Surveys, Teaching Excellence Framework, Research Excellence frameworks etc. These are external schemes imposed on universities by regulators to engineer competition and provide more information to service users.

Competition can be considered in two ways. Internal competition, that is, the competition that exists between providers operating in the same country, and external competition, which is the competition that exists between service providers within a nation and external providers. This is in the context of the global nature of the HE market earlier discussed.

This section focuses on internal competition.

Participants spoke about competition within the university sector in Scotland and England and spoke about how some of this was internally driven while some were externally driven by regulators to provide more information to customers due to market pressures. Some of the comments on this theme are provided below:

“In some ways what we choose to offer (courses) depends on how sensitive we are to what the market wants because why do we all offer

MBAs, why do we offer forensic this and that? Why at the moment does every university offer cybersecurity courses? It is partly because we know there is a big market for these, and we know there is a big market for these because we like others look at trends in the society and the economy and take all these in.

A lot of what is repackaged like forensic computing used to be computing, it was just responses to the market by adding something. It is just about marketing. The core stuff is still computing or engineering or business or whatever” (SO32)

“Universities are in constant competition to attract fee-paying students. With regards to home undergraduates, caps on student numbers mean there is less competition in this area” (SO34)

“The market in university education is an unconventional market. Deciding if and where to study is complex and personal and it does not follow that students will always choose the cheapest or most expensive, even if they do not directly pay. I am not sure about the quality and quantity of information students have and the extent to which they use the information that they have, even if the government has been trying to improve it.

Primarily, the competition that does occur in universities involves marketing, advertising and facilities because of the complexities I highlighted earlier” (SO31)

“Universities compete in many areas. Some of the recent external performance metrics have benefitted some of the smaller universities relative to some of the bigger universities because while there is a perception that X (Russell Group university is the best in the land), what it offers is not very different from what Y (Former Polytechnic offers). This is because all programs...take an MBA, for example, the curriculum for an MBA is specified by the national government subject

benchmarks so subjects that are taught on the MBA at former Polytechnic are the same subjects that are taught at Russell group university A. Titles of the modules might be slightly different, but the actual basic content of the program is exactly the same (SA20).

At undergraduate level for home students, due to tuition policy and caps on student numbers, competition appears to be externally driven, however, at postgraduate level and for fee-paying students for whom there are no caps, the universities have more room to compete by varying marketing mix elements like product, price, promotion and distribution. This provides customers with choice, and it can be argued that efficient and competitive pricing which is the basis of market-provision of services.

Participants touched on the nature of the market that exists in university education being different from conventional markets. This supports the literature including Le Grand (2001) and the analytical framework on the university market in the UK being a quasi-market.

Nigeria

Having analysed the university sector in Nigeria as arguably functioning as a pure market in which service providers charge what they need to keep the doors open, the assumption here would be that the system would provide choice for customers at competitive prices. This is not necessarily the case. While the quality of universities varies significantly with perceptions that some of the private universities offer good quality, these are only available to those that can afford them. Given earlier information that about a quarter of those seeking admissions secure places indicating demand far exceeds supply, universities have little incentive in offering cost-effective tuition or even improving quality.

Beyond accreditation, there appears to be very little done by regulatory bodies within Nigeria to facilitate competition as is the case in Scotland.

The universities in Nigeria also have limited capacity for attracting international students.

Participants who were administrators were asked if university regulators engaged in activities to initiate competition within the sector and responses include the following:

“People are aware of the quality of some of the private universities and if you can afford it, you go there. Even within the private universities, some are better than others and they usually cost more. However, I do not believe that this information is out there because of anything the NUC or any other body is doing” (NO14)

This further shows the peculiarity of the market systems that exist in university education. In a competitive market, competition should drive up quality and drive down costs. However, based on the data from NBS (2017) which showed that there were only places for about 25% of candidates, the universities have no incentive to improve quality or even drive down costs because there would always be candidates who are able to pay whatever they charge.

Some competition is identified for both Nigeria and Scotland however, the analysis shows that the extent to which the competition that is identified is beneficial to consumers is limited due to the university education market being an unconventional market.

The next section addresses the presence of other private sector management practices in the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland based on the analytical framework and these include; increasing use of non-permanent contracts and increased performance management.

Scotland

Scottish participants talked about the increase in the use of private sector management practices including increased use of non-permanent contracts, increased use of performance management and a couple of individuals spoke about a layer of highly paid managers that has become a feature of the sector. The analytical framework and the literature reviewed on marketisation support the developments indicated above.

None of the Scottish individuals interviewed indicated that they were currently on temporary contracts, however, most of them particularly the younger individuals indicated that the use of such contracts was widespread and that some of them started their professional careers on such contracts.

As data earlier provided from Matos (2006) indicated, over 50% of new PhD's now work outside academia with many of those that do work in academia working under precarious conditions.

Some participants discussed a layer of highly paid administrative staff. Those who mentioned this, however, indicated that with universities competing for resources and students, staff dedicated to managing marketing campaigns and strategy to improve universities market position often needed to be brought in. It was also indicated that due to increasing and multiple schemes of performance management as well as increased regulation in the sector, there is often the need to hire people to manage these aspects of university education.

Some of the quotes to support the discussions above are provided below:

"I have a friend who graduated from a Russell Group University two years ago and she has been working in two universities in Edinburgh on contracts that are not up to 15 hours per week" (SA28)

"These days, it is almost a rite of passage that a significant proportion of PhDs who are moving into academia have to start out on temporary

contracts. It is not a good thing after many years in university. Some people already have families that they have to look after” (SA22)

“There are many performance measures within university education, most of which are introduced by regulators with the aim of providing more information to students. Their effectiveness and usefulness are open to debate” (SO32)

As with most justifications for NPM, contracting is justified by efficiency. Get staff in when you need them only and consequently reduce expenses. The extra layer of administrative staff mentioned by participants is justified on the framework with “visible hands-on professional management” which refers to personnel who take direct responsibility for certain aspects of the business.

Nigeria

Most of the discussions above were not volunteered by Nigerian participants as UK participants did and this could be attributed to most of the developments discussed above for Scotland not necessarily being a feature of the Nigerian university sector. Since these issues were brought up by participants in Scotland, Nigerian participants were asked if any of the themes discussed above were a feature of the Nigerian university sector and their data on these are provided below:

Responses include the following:

“Not much has changed in terms of the contracts offered in government universities over-time, however, I am aware that some private universities have been using non-permanent contracts” (NA7)

“Beyond course accreditation and program accreditation, I am not aware of many other performance measures as you have described” (NA9)

“As you know, there is excess demand for access into Nigerian universities. Given economic challenges in the country, the deciding factors usually come down to which university is closest to you or which university you can afford, so I would not really say universities need to hire people especially for strategy or marketing” (N015)

When questioned about the wider use of temporary contracts in the Nigerian economy, participants who had also lived abroad indicated that it was not widely used as it is used in places like the UK and the USA because employers had no incentive to offer part-time contracts when they could have employees working full-time.

It was highlighted employees working in the public and private sectors often went months without getting paid including university employees, and that there were limited regulations to protect the interests of employees. The literature reviewed in chapter 5 supports these views.

Consequently, the apparent limited use of private sector management practices like temporary contracts in Nigeria is not necessarily indicative of the absence of this feature of NPM but indicative of peculiarities of the Nigerian economy.

8.8. Can University education in Nigeria and Scotland be considered marketised based on the evidence thus far?

Taking the features of NPM highlighted on table 8.1. which informed the analytical framework on figure 8.1 as a measure of marketisation, the conclusion is that the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland can be considered marketised. Le Grand (2011)’s definition of a quasi-market within NPM for HE where the government provides finance for competing organisations appears to adequately describe the university sector in Scotland even though direct charges which is a significant feature of marketisation is not evident. Other features like competition, disciplined resource use,

corporatisation, private sector management practices etc. appear evident in Nigeria and Scotland, though to varying degrees.

If Le Grand's definition of quasi-markets above is the only condition where a sector or economy can be considered to be operating under NPM then it can be argued that the university sector in Nigeria and the whole economy by extension has not adopted an NPM approach and that it functions more as a pure market as described by Molesworth et al., (2010). While most features of NPM are identified, it cannot be described as a quasi-market due to the limited role played by the government in funding and regulating the sector.

What is presented above are findings as it affects Scotland individually and Nigeria individually. However, the comparative nature of this study and findings which highlight other factors including the movement of a considerable number of students from Nigeria to the UK and Scotland and the reliance of the UK university sector on international students warrants discussions which are subsequently provided.

8.9. Summary

This chapter has addressed the second research objective which was to comparatively evaluate the extent to which university education could be considered marketized in the context of the wider tenets of NPM as identified by Hood (1991) and other NPM scholars as opposed to considering marketisation from just the single focus of charges which the last chapter did.

Findings indicated that the university sector in both locations could be considered marketized due to the identification of the various features of NPM being identified as present by participants in the university sectors in both countries.

Given this finding, the question then was, how could the practical outcomes in both countries be as different as they appear to be if they had adopted similar policies. Analysis indicated that the resulting differential in outcomes could be tied to the fact that while the university sector in Scotland could also be

considered marketised, NPM or a market-based approach to service delivery in the sector is customised to meet local needs which are exemplified by charges (arguably the most significant feature of a market-based system) being waived for qualifying students.

Nigeria, on the other hand, appears to have adopted a market-based approach in university education which has resulted in the sector functioning arguably more as a pure market instead of a quasi-market. Implications of this are that the poorest in society are disenfranchised or have to go to extreme lengths to be able to access university education.

The major findings here are that free-markets do not absolve governments from its role of ensuring all qualified individuals can access services they need. An unrestrained and loosely regulated market of service delivery without government intervention creates two levels of citizenship; one for those who have the resources to access the services and; two for those who cannot. The government still has a prominent role to play in developing countries as it does in developed countries typified by no-charges in Scotland or a system of charges in England that is supported by government-backed loans and grants.

While the findings chapters 7 and 8 have discussed data based on individual comments of participants based on the aims and objectives of this study, the next chapter highlights the major findings, compares Nigeria and Scotland and discusses these in the context of the analytical framework and literature reviewed.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION

9.0. Introduction

This thesis presents an examination of the use of user charges, implications for access and wider marketisation in university education in the context of market-type reforms to public administration and service delivery which is considered relatively global phenomena. While the themes above have attracted significant academic interest, these have mostly focussed on these developments at the country level or compared multiple developed or developing countries. There has been little engagement with marketisation reforms as they affect both developing and developed countries and this is what this study examines by critically examining the impact of the reforms in Nigeria and Scotland.

This chapter aims to further develop and interpret the findings of the last two chapters by analysing and discussing data collected from research participants who were academics, university administrators and civil servants whose briefs involved university education. While some discussion occurred in the last two chapters, these occurred at the individual levels of the participant's comments. This chapter discusses the overall findings. Key themes which emerged from this study will be compared for the case study countries and in relation to the analytical framework and background literature reviewed in this thesis.

The first section focuses predominantly on the primary aim of this study, and it concerns the use of charges as a feature of marketisation reforms in university education and the implications this has for access. Secondary discussions on the theme above including the drivers of the reforms and suitability of a marketisation approach to PA and service delivery are also addressed. The tuition policies for "home" undergraduate students in Nigeria and Scotland is common knowledge as highlighted with secondary data. Discussions of other themes rely on the analysis of perceptions of participants based on the qualitative approach adopted.

The second section involves discussions which pertain to perceptions of marketisation in the university sections in the wider context of features NPM and its implications, as highlighted in the analytical framework and literature reviewed and is not limited to just an evaluation of the use of charges as the former section does. Points of intersection between the HE systems in developed and developing countries are identified here. Due consideration is given to the drivers of the reforms, the context of developed, developing countries and the neoliberal hegemony.

The third section addresses the “so what” question by highlighting lessons and recommendations for Nigeria and Scotland based on study findings.

9.1 Section 1

Main findings from data on the tuition policies in Scotland in relation to the analytical framework which emphasises a change from classic PA dominated by Keynesianism, state intervention, the welfare state and government monopolisation of service delivery apparatuses, to NPM, marketisation and a market-driven approach to service delivery is tabled below and discussed subsequently.

Tuition policies in Nigeria and Scotland

Theme	Nigeria	Scotland	Analytical framework and literature	Contrasting primary data or literature
User charges for tuition	All university types (Federal, State and private universities charge varying tuition which has increased exponentially in the last few decades.	For undergraduate students who meet certain criteria, the national policy is one of no-tuition	Literature of NPM and marketisation reforms indicates that the reforms are global. It would be expected that Scotland as a developed country would exhibit more features of marketisation including the use of charges (Ferlie et al. 1996; Falconer 1997; Larbi 1999)	Not applicable

			The policy in Scotland is characteristic of a classic approach to PA of state intervention while the policy in Nigeria is characteristic of NPM	
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Table 9.1 Tuition policies in Nigeria and Scotland

While there has been a growth in academic inquiries in marketisation, use of charges in public service delivery because of NPM reforms in the last few decades including Idumange et al., (2009); Brown (2011); Brown and Carasso (2013); Ogunyinka (2014), pertinent to this study was the comparative evaluation of these reforms in the context of a developed and developing country. Public management and social policy literature including the likes of Hood (1991); Dunleavy and Hood (1994); Ferlie et al. 1996; Falconer (1997); Larbi (1999); Babalola (1998); Zayyad (2000) etc. which were reviewed in this study have provided theoretical evaluation of the reforms and charted its practical implications in different contexts, but what this study does is to critically examine the impact of the reforms in the different contexts of a developed and developing country by looking at the university sector.

Discussion sections present and discusses issues surrounding a particular theme, one that is debatable and open to argument. The tuition policies in Scotland and Nigeria are not open to debate. The reason for presentation is the context of marketisation reforms which are promoted by IFIs and developing countries and are seen as global and the expectation that Scotland as a developed country would exhibit features of marketisation including charges.

Findings, comparisons and further context on the theme is presented and discussed below.

Drivers of the tuition policies

Theme	Nigeria	Scotland	Analytical framework and literature review	Contrasting primary data or literature
Drivers of tuition policies	<p>No national coherence in tuition policies. Respective universities charge what they need to stay open in the face of reduced government funding for government universities and full costs for private universities.</p> <p>Data indicated that policy is a response to SAPs and influence of IFIs which emphasize reduced government role and more private competition.</p>	<p>The national policy of no-tuition set at a local level devoid of external influence.</p> <p>“Our approach is to follow our own path and reject moves in other parts of the UK to transfer the burden away from the state to the student (ScotGov 2011).</p> <p>Scottish participants attributed tuition policy to the political ideology of the SNP and literature supports this.</p>	<p>World Bank (1988, 1992, 1994, 1995); Ziderman and Albrecht (1995); Hartnett (2000); Saint et al., (2003) etc. all emphasize reduced state involvement in HE and more personal contributions. This provides theoretical justifications for the marketized approach Nigeria has taken. This is symptomatic of an NPM approach and is considered global.</p> <p>Scotland's approach is explained by a classic PA approach.</p>	

Table 9.2. Drivers of tuition policies

The analytical framework which is informed by literature highlights the factors that led to marketisation reforms. Data presented and analysed in chapter 7, which is in agreement with literature including (Larbi 1999), attributes marketisation reforms, particularly the use of charges to the economic crisis in many states and the need for the state to save resources which required public services to be funded by alternative means.

The literature reviewed including Brock-Utne (2003), Ochwa-Echel (2013) and those indicated above in table 9.2. attribute marketisation reforms to market-driven reforms to public service delivery from the 1980s onwards which were policies transferred to developing countries as conditionalities tied to financial

relief by Washington-based institutions and net-lending developed countries that dominate them. Not all Nigerian participants immediately highlighted the links between increased use of charges and SAPs as most just indicated that charges were used more because the governments at various levels have simply refused to fund universities or did not have the resources to fund universities. When asked when the trend of underfunding began, most then indicated that these began after the implementation of SAPs by the military government in the late 1980s. This confirms most of the literature on this.

Reforms, particularly in Africa have been driven by IFI direction and this is highlighted by Johnstone et al., (1998), a World bank report where it was posited that; the reform agenda is orientated to the market instead of public ownership, government regulation or planning. It was further posited that the market orientation of tertiary education underlined by the almost worldwide ascendance of market capitalism and the principles of neoliberal economics.

The SAPs and Washington Consensus as reviewed in chapter 2, were a series of policies characterised by austerity, implemented by debtor countries as suggested by IFIs and creditor countries which were supposed to allow them to meet their debt obligations and develop.

As literature from ScotGov (2011) and the primary data shows, while it was acknowledged that an approach to shifting financial burden on to students had become the policy in other contexts (rest of the UK), they (Scotland) took a local approach which was implemented to address local needs devoid of external influence with aims of ensuring that no qualified individual was denied access for economic reasons.

As highlighted in the findings, while there are many factors which can result in university education not being accessible, in the case of Scotland, even in the face of attempts in the rest of the UK to introduce charges, a local approach which ensured that economic reasons would not be a deterrent to access. This is based on the narrow scope of this study with its focus on tuition for

undergraduate students that meet the criteria to be classed as home students studying for their first degree. Contrarily, there are views that the policy is a political tool to win middle-class votes. However, and most importantly, this research found no negative implications for access to all societal segments.

While it is difficult to establish the links between SAPs and charges beyond doubt because most nations are not going to say in policy papers that IFIs or creditors told us to spend less money on public services, and this is the reasons for charges as discussed in policy transfer literature reviewed in chapter 3, section 1, primary data, literature and the timeline of these developments in Nigeria are indicative.

The difference between Scotland and Nigeria based on the findings are that Scotland took a local decision while Nigeria appears to have been externally influenced. Per-Capita economic resources available to Nigeria, relative to Scotland are acknowledged however, there are alternative ways to raise funds including diversion, borrowing and educating students studying in foreign universities locally. Using the analytical framework and from a charges viewpoint, Scotland appears to have maintained a Weberian or state interventionist approach to funding university education while Nigeria appears to have adopted an NPM or marketized approach to funding university education. The implications of this policy approach, particularly as it concerns access which is a focus of this study are discussed next.

Perceived implications of charging policies in Nigeria and Scotland for access

As established above, the tuition policy in Scotland is to charge no tuition while in Nigeria, universities increasingly charge tuition to cover more or all of the costs of learning. These are positions backed up by literature reviewed in chapter 5 and is information that is readily available from the universities, regulators and policy papers.

It would be expected that based on increasing charges in Nigeria, enrolments would decrease. In microeconomic, the law of demand states that, based on the condition that all else is equal, increase in the price of a good will result in a decrease in demand and vice-versa.

Statistical data on Nigeria provided in chapter 7 showed that the monthly minimum wage in the public sector was N18,000/month (£37), no minimum wage exists in the private sector; 62.5% of Nigerians live in poverty (less than \$1.25/day), Nigeria took over from India as the poverty capital of the world with 87 million people in extreme poverty despite having less than 20% of India's population according to Vanguard (2018); the average family has 5.5 children. However, data from NBS (2017) also presented in chapter 7, showed that just a quarter of those who sought admission into HE institutions in Nigeria between 2011 and 2016 secured places. The data from the same source also indicated that more people than ever were accessing higher education.

Going back to the earlier question, in Nigeria, in defiance of the laws of demand, the increase in costs has not resulted in a decrease in demand. This is explained by demand significantly exceeding supply. This is likely to result in a situation where regardless of what the universities charges, there would be some candidates out of the 75% who annually fail to secure places that can afford to pay it.

Given economic data on Nigeria, the apparent increase in the use of charges, accessibility to university education is likely to increasingly favour the richest in society. While extensive literature exists on developments in university education in Nigeria, most of which were reviewed in chapter 5, very few including Idumange et al., (2009) and Oguyinka (2014) engage with issues of accessibility which might result in an increase in the use of charges. This might be as a result of the challenges of identifying the numbers of candidates that are unable to access university education due to economic circumstances using statistical data. A common response when Nigeria participants were asked about this was to say that they did not have the data (statistical data). This justifies the qualitative approach adopted in this study.

In Scotland, and based on the scope of this study, no negative implications for access was identified.

Theme	Nigeria	Scotland	Analytical framework and literature review	Contrasting data or literature
Accessibility or affordability of university education	Numbers accessing HE has not decreased (Ogunyinka 2014), as expected based on the law of demand, However, this is due to excess demand and low supply. The perception was that accessibility in increasingly dependent on the ability to pay and the poorest are being shut out.	Based on the narrow scope of this study which only considers tuition for “home” students and the policy of no-tuition, no negative implications were identified.	Beyond media articles highlighting increases in charges, there is surprisingly little academic engagement with the implications of charges for access in Nigeria.	

Table 9.3 Accessibility

As earlier discussed, Scotland, adopted a local approach to address local needs and this was justified by university education being accessible to all, regardless of economic circumstances. Based on the scope of this study (focus on tuition for home students), there is no literature that exists or indeed data from participants which indicates that accessibility is hampered by the Scottish policy for funding university education.

The marketised charging policy in Nigeria which appears externally driven appears to have negative implications for access based on literature and data from participants.

The literature reviewed in chapter 4, on charging including Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) in which it was argued that anything that can be charged should be charged and primary data from some participants argue for charging for services. While university education does not meet the threshold to be considered a “public good” which would designate it as a service that must be publicly funded, it is considered a service that is of public interest. This is the legal justification for its tax-exempt status in Nigeria as earlier discussed and charitable status in the UK.

What is clear from the data is that it is conceived of as a “merit good” in Scotland, given the tuition policy, and it is apparently not in Nigeria.

The suggestions of charging above, primarily from Western scholars are made on ideological grounds and form the ideological basis of market-type reforms while in Nigeria, the perceptions of participants are that charges are a result of the practicalities raising revenue in the face of reduced state funding and keeping universities open. However, given earlier discussions, there might also be an ideological justification in Nigeria given external influence, even if participants were unaware of this or did not articulate it.

Primary data from Nigeria indicates that university education is increasingly inaccessible to most Nigerians.

What appears clear in evaluating the use of charges in the comparative context of developed and developing countries however is that even in places like England where direct charges do exist for university education, the practical outcomes of accessibility are still significantly different from the practical outcomes in developing countries because no qualified individual is denied access because they cannot pay for the service. This is because in developed countries, even with charges for services like university education, the services operate as what Le Grand (2011) refers to as a quasi-market where service

providers of diverse legal frameworks compete in a market to provide services to customers that are backed by government guaranteed loans or grants, or both.

This leads to wider discussions of marketisation of university education in developed and developing countries and its implications which are presented in section 2.

Section 2

Marketisation of university education in the comparative context of a developed and developing country using NPM as a framework for evaluation

The data and analysis presented in chapter 7, and so far in this chapter have considered marketisation in the narrow context of the presence or absence of user charges in the university sectors in both countries. This was done to have a more robust discussion of reforms beyond abstract discussions of marketisation as a framework for understanding contemporary developments in university education finance and management. A focus on charges meant that the practical implications of these reforms are made explicit, even within methodological constraints which meant a qualitative approach had to be adopted.

Data and analysis in chapter 8, as well as discussions in the rest of this section, consider a more expansive view of marketisation developments in university education in the wider context of features of NPM identified by scholars including Hood (1991) Falconer 1997, and Larbi (1999).

The major findings presented below are based on themes that developed during literature review which informed the analytical framework and during data collection.

Themes	Nigeria	Scotland	Analytical framework and Literature	Contrasting data and literature
Deregulation and private provision	Private universities have become a feature of the university sector since 1999 and now outnumber the state universities. This is expected of a marketized university sector based on the analytical framework. They are tax-exempt but do not enjoy any student subsidisation	No private universities exist in Scotland	Marketisation reforms support deregulation away from state monopolies in service provision to private provision (Ferlie et al. 1996)	The existence of universities operating under these legal frameworks is not open to debate. Why they exist, and their implications are further discussed
Reduction in government funding	The private universities which educate a significant percentage receive no direct state funding. Figures show that support to federal universities has reduced by over 60% in real terms despite an explosion in enrolment. Difficult to establish funding levels for state universities but some now charge the full cost of teaching indicating zero subsidies in some cases.	Figures show that there is a 4% reduction in teaching costs recouped by universities between 2011 and 2014. Overall, state support has been steady.	NPM and marketisation literature promote less state involvement and more private contributions (Falconer 1997; Le Grand 2011). This is significantly evident in Nigeria. Scotland, given the tuition approach which is characteristic of Weberian PA does not show significant reductions within	On paper, funds going to Nigerian public universities have increased, when inflation, changes in exchange rates and increased enrolments are considered, it has significantly reduced

			the scope of this study.	
Market practices including competition, term contracts, performance management	<p>Market practices like term contracts are not popular due to weak employment regulations.</p> <p>Competition is also less evident because of excessive demand and low supply which means competition only occurs on price.</p> <p>Relatively weak regulatory systems also mean a culture of performance management is less evident.</p>	<p>Competition, the use of term contracts and a performance culture is evident in Scotland. While the policy has been to resist other features of marketisation, as part of the UK, regulations and attempts to compete for business with universities in rUK, and globally has meant that they are not immune.</p>	<p>Based on the analytical framework, user charges are supposed to work in concert with other features which should improve choice, quality etc. for service users. Nigeria appears to have adopted charges, but not much else which means users are saddled with costs but none of the benefits of taking on cost.</p> <p>Scotland appears to have adopted the opposite with cost resisted but other feature designed to improve choice and quality adopted.</p>	
Units organised by product	<p>While charging and a market appears to exist for all cohorts in the Nigerian university sector, the reach for revenue mobilisation Scottish universities have appeared beyond that of Nigerian universities</p>	<p>While a charging regime or “market” does not appear obvious for Scottish undergraduate students, charging and markets exist for other cohorts. These sources are exploited in many ways with a focus</p>	<p>The analytical framework indicates that service providers should be responsive to needs and changes in the market.</p> <p>Increased autonomy in the</p>	

		on what brings in the most revenue. This includes internationalisation	provision of new programs, student and staff recruitment.	
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Table 9.4 Wider features of Marketisation

Features of NPM identified by scholars including Hood (1991), Ferlie et al., 1996; Larbi (1999) include those identified above and while some elements were more visibly evident based on data and secondary data than others, the university sectors in both countries can be considered to be marketized. Scotland appears to have adopted some elements of marketisation but not charges for undergraduate education. This confirms the position in Molesworth et al., (2010) that in developed countries, there are limitations on the application of the theory of markets in evaluating reforms. It further confirms the conceptualisation of market reforms in many developed countries including Scotland as quasi-markets and not pure markets. While HE is not a public good, the considerations highlighted in the literature reviewed including externalities and unclear information which can direct user choice justify its provision based on a quasi-market approach. It needs to be highlighted that even in England where charges do exist, the system still functions like a quasi-market.

The Nigeria university education sector on the other hand predominantly functions as a pure market, though it needs to be highlighted that some government universities still enjoy varying levels of subsidization which has implications for charges students are liable for. Given excessive demand, low supply and socio-economic realities, however, university education is out of the reach of most Nigerians.

Beyond externalities, undersupply is one of the justifications for the provision of university education on a quasi-market basis according to Molesworth et al.

(2010). University education is severely undersupplied given statistics that showed that only a quarter of candidates secured admissions.

NPM theory, the Washington Consensus, neoliberalism, marketisation, SAPs, all advocate less state involvement, more choice, private contributions on the basis of efficiency, however, based on what has been identified above for Nigeria, even with private-sector participation.

Various World Bank publications advocated for reduced investment by the state for egalitarian reasons however, findings in this research show that the effects of markets and increasing use of user charges has limited accessibility to the richest in society. On the other hand, continued lack of investment has eroded the remaining vestiges of quality and resulted in people who can afford it seeking quality primarily from universities in developed countries.

What does a market for public services (university education) mean in a developed and developing country?

Theme	Nigeria	Scotland	Analytical framework and literature	Contrasting data and literature
Marketisation of HE in practice	Can best be described as a pure market where students are increasingly liable for funding their education	Very much a quasi-market. Even England where charges exist is a quasi-market where students are not directly liable for charges.	The analytical framework and supporting literature which is heavily influenced by Western literature conceives of market provision of public services as grounded in a quasi-market approach. While Molesworth et al. (2010) describe a	Some subsidy still exists in the government-run universities in Nigeria however, charges are increasingly used. Private universities cover all their costs through tuition.

			pure market, it is suggested that a pure market does not exist in developed countries. The evidence here shows a pure market exists in Nigeria.	
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Table 9.5 Marketisation in practice in developing and developed countries

Implications of marketisation for accessibility

While implications of charges has already been discussed (as it applies for Nigeria, given that there are no charges for Scotland), it is vital to also discuss it in the wider context of marketisation which applies in both countries to highlight the wider implications of marketisation policies in developed and developing countries based on literature and analytical framework, given its global reach.

The literature reviewed which informed the analytical framework described the market as a means of social coordination in which the price mechanism determines the demand and supply of goods and services, and in which consumers can choose between alternatives based on suitability to them in the areas of availability, quality and price Molesworth et al., (2010). The market approach is considered a society's best use of resources because it provides greater static and dynamic efficiency, and it is favourably contrasted with command economies in which the state controls quantities and prices (ibid). Marketisation is the exposure of a sector to market forces or the conversion of an economy from command or planned to market economy. As the literature reviewed in chapters 2 and 3 show, this has been the trend almost on a global scale in the last few decades as analysis of NPM, neoliberalism, SAPs and the Washington Consensus shows.

The question that this research asked in the first chapter and sought to answer was what the implications for accessibility was in developed and developing countries given the perceived global nature of marketisation reforms using the university sectors in Nigeria and Scotland as case studies.

Markets as the literature shows should have features which include: legally autonomous institutions (which was the rationale for establishing the legal status of universities); deregulation of market entry (allowing private-for-profit providers); no regulatory limits on prices or numbers enrolled; teaching costs should be met almost entirely by fees which would be covered by students and their families and at little cost to the state; users have a choice on where and what to study (facilitated by full information about cost, quality and benefits) (Molesworth et al., 2010; Le Grand 2011).

In practice, Scotland has almost none of these based on findings. The Scottish position as findings in chapter 7, show is ideologically justified based on the political inclinations of the Scottish National Party which subscribe to an approach which is characteristic of Weberian PA or a command economy. This is practically justified by the belief that no qualified candidate should be denied access. From an accessibility or an affordability point of view, no qualified individual is denied access to university education because they cannot pay for it.

This shows that beyond all the supposed benefits of markets and marketisation, equity of access is provided as a justification for resisting the benefits of a market system in a developed country and findings show that the outcomes have been positive.

As discussed in chapter 1, Hood (1991) suggested that criticisms of NPM and market-type reforms should be limited to administrative values and not the wider role of the state in the wider society however, Scottish university education's apparent resistance to marketisation based on ensuring equity of

access shows that the discussions of marketisation, the role of the state in society and equity of access cannot be separated.

Even England in which charges which cover the whole cost of teaching most programs is the policy, and there is a perception that the system is significantly more marketised, the system is still facilitated by government-backed loans which mean that qualified individuals are not denied access because they are unable to pay for university education.

Findings from Nigeria where it appears that marketisation reforms have been adopted in the management and finance of university education shows that the system functions more like a pure market and not a quasi-market. However, the supposed efficiency gains of market systems which should improve quality and choice do not appear evident based on findings and literature. Loans, grants, access and exception systems which are a feature of university education in both Scotland and England do not exist in Nigeria, and students are directly liable for charges upfront which is a feature of pure markets Molesworth et al., (2010). Given socio-economic features highlighted in chapter 7, the implications are that most Nigerians are priced out of university education.

The other element is that, given significant underinvestment in the university sector resulting in undersupply and the perceived lack of quality highlighted earlier, a considerable number of Nigerians travel abroad. This results in resources being taken out of the economy in a dependency theory fashion.

As earlier discussed, universities in developed countries seek to raise extra funds by attracting foreign students who can pay a premium and in the global market that has been enabled by SAPs and market type reforms, demand meets supply.

This serves as a point of the intersectionality of the university sectors in developed and developing countries and this is discussed next.

Points of intersectionality: The global higher education market

Features of marketisation in university education were identified for Nigeria and Scotland above based on primary and secondary data. This potentially confirms contemporary views of NPM and market-type reforms being global as it concerns Nigeria and Scotland.

What the findings on marketisation show is that universities, particularly those from developed countries, in their positioning as business units seek to internationalise. These include setting up operations in developing countries which compete with local universities; running online programs and attracting international students. Most of these international students come from developing countries with UKCISA (2017) highlighting that the top 3 countries of residence of international students in the UK are China, India and Nigeria.

What this study has identified is that reforms and their implications are not limited to developments within countries but have global implications. The trend identified which is supported a multitude of academic and non-academic literature is a contemporary trend that sees students from some of the poorest countries in the world studying in some of the richest countries and paying a premium to do so.

Factors that have driven this development include ideologically driven government cuts and marketisation drives, that has forced universities to seek internationalisation (Brown 2011). Secondly, globalisation and growth in global trade and communications which has been enabled through SAPs has further connected markets in ways that would be impossible since the end of colonialism (Larbi 1999). Consequently, universities, primarily from the developing world are positioning themselves to become global vendors of education due to competitive advantages and their perceived quality in ways in which universities from the developing world are unable to.

Theme	Nigeria	Scotland	Literature Theoretical framework	Contrasting themes and data
Points of intersectionality between developed and developing countries with university education	<p>Net student exporting country sending over 30,000 students studying in the UK and US alone annually. Fees range from £9250/year to up to £30,000 year. Living expenses are comparable.</p> <p>Official data on international students studying within Nigeria does not exist but participants suggested that there are not many and Nigeria is not a foreign student destination.</p>	<p>Net student importing country. The benefits of this are tabled below.</p> <p>Apart from physical movement of student, there is also online programs and the phenomenon of universities from developed countries opening up affiliates in developing countries.</p>	<p>SAPs; neoliberalism The End of History; marketisation, the Washington Consensus and neoliberalism all account for the opening up of global markets in ways that would be impossible since the end of colonialism.</p>	<p>Command or planned economies. Classic PA instead of NPM. Protectionism.</p> <p>Net exporting countries can simply fund their universities and provide the conditions which students are seeking abroad.</p> <p>Developing countries can impose sanctions of foreign online programs, foreign universities setting up operations in their countries as well as travel.</p>

Table 9.6. Pointes of intersectionality

The YEAR 2015-2016	Numbers of non-EU domiciled students	Fee income from non-EU domiciled students (£)	Mean fee income per non-EU domiciled students (£)
England	261,275	3,790,096,000	14,506
Scotland	29,980	488,360,000	16,290
Wales	16,730	150,520,000	8,997
Northern Ireland	2,585	25,270,000	9,776
UK	310,570	4,454,246,000	14,342

Table 9.7 International students in the UK

Source: ScotGov (2018)

The table above shows the benefits of full-fee paying non-EU students to the member states of the UK and the UK. The table only covers tuition and does not cover living expenses or associated benefits of family members travelling in for visits of graduation as well as overseas operations and online programs. Total benefits to the UK are in excess of £20BN/year.

The phenomenon analysed in the two tables above is best described by dependency theory as discussed in chapter 3 and which is modelled below.



Figure 9.1. Dependency theory

Dependency theory: This shows the flow of resources, which in the case of this research is money and people from periphery countries primarily from South America, Africa and Asia to the core countries including the UK and the USA.

As discussed in chapter 3, dependency theory according to Prebisch (1971) developed in the era of decolonisation attempted to provide an explanation of how the former colonies could still be exploited after independence.

Based on dependency theory, core countries which are developed countries or former colonialists would seek to integrate periphery countries which tend to be poor, developing and former colonies into the capitalist system in order to exploit their resources just as it was under colonialism. This is implemented by exploiting inequalities in the system (ibid).

While dependency theory predated global marketisation and NPM reforms, it provides a valid explanation for findings in this research.

This was the rationale for the extensive review of global developments in chapter 2 which led to the adoption of NPM and market type reforms as well as the mechanisms of policy transfer in chapter 3.

The literature on the Washington Consensus and SAPs as discussed in chapter 2 highlighted the following features which were common to both:

- Fiscal policy discipline and subsidy withdrawals (state should stop investing in sectors like university education where allegedly the “rates of return” were not clear and was considered an inefficient use of resources which could be reserved to pay back loans to core countries)
- Deregulation and privatisation of state agencies (allowed private-for-profit providers including international ones based in developed countries to provide goods and services in sectors that were previously dominated by government monopoly)
- Property rights security (This secured the rights of foreign investments in periphery countries because of the perceptions that had taken a national development approach that favoured public ownership)
- Abolishment of regulations that impeded market entry (While this also allowed some private providers to enter the market and compete with existing government monopolies, both the government monopolies and

local private providers stood little chance in competing with well-resourced external service providers)

- Market-determined interest rates and competitive exchange rates (In the state-dominated approach to public administration and service delivery that most periphery nations had adopted, interest rates and exchange rates were controlled by the government. This meant that foreign investors' returns were based on set rates. Allowing the markets to determine these resulted in unprecedented devaluation which meant that foreign investors got more for their money and local services users had to work more to get the same things.
- Trade and import liberalisation: According to the neoliberal worldview, liberalisation of trade generates a virtuous circle of efficiency, technology and market access etc. The arguments are that markets promote efficiency through competition and the division of labour -- the specialisation that allows people and economies to do what they do best. Global markets offer greater opportunity for people to tap into more and larger markets around the world. It means that they can have access to more capital flows, technology, cheaper imports, and export markets.

Contrarily, critics of trade liberalisation argue that it serves capitalist profitability which is unfairly balanced due to neoliberal hegemony. It facilitates intense competition on a global scale and does not allow people to collectively decide what they do best and the types of relationships that they would like with each other (Brock-Utne 2003; Ochwah-Echel 2013).

Based on findings established in this study reforms in the manner described above are evident in Nigeria. The reforms were supposed to bring growth and development to all those who adopted them. They were supposed to be mutually beneficial to both developed and developing countries. From an economic perspective, benefits to developed countries can be quantified as

highlighted in the table above that showed financial benefits to the UK. While there is likely some benefits to developing countries, this is not quantifiable and the perception from participants was that the exchanges were not mutually beneficial. This is adequately explained by dependency theory.

The next section highlights the main lessons and recommendations for both Nigeria and Scotland.

Section 3: Major findings and lessons

9.3.1. Major findings

	Nigeria	Scotland	Lessons
Charges	The increasing use of varying charges for all undergraduate home students, dependent on the course and university type in line with marketisation reforms and in conformity with the perception of the reforms being global. The result of a need to raise funds in the face of reducing government investment.	No charges for all home students in a departure from the view of marketisation reforms being global. Justified based on accessibility to all qualified candidates.	If equity of access is a goal of the Nigerian government, alternative approaches to funding HE needs to be explored.
Accessibility	Dependent on the ability to pay and is not accessible to most Nigerians.	Accessible to all qualified individuals.	
Wider marketisation using NPM as a framework	Evident due to the presence of most features of marketisation and operates as a pure market.	Evident due to the observation of some features of marketisation. Operates as a quasi-market to home students, however, in the global context of marketisation, operates like a pure market focussed on exploiting alternative sources of revenue which is usually from high-fee-	Scottish HE appears to have adopted desirable features of NPM and not the undesirables which have positioned it to reap benefits in global HE provision.

		paying international students.	Nigerian HE appears to have adopted most features of marketisation which opens it up to exploitation and undesirable outcomes.
The extent to which a marketisation policy can be adopted in a developed and developing country with the expectation of similar outcomes.	<p>Marketisation policies, particularly the use of charges in a pure market has been established in this study to result in accessibility challenges for most residents.</p> <p>Adopting a policy similar to England is currently not feasible because the institutional capabilities needed to anchor it does not exist.</p> <p>Only possible approach within a marketized approach that will address accessibility challenges in the short-term is the Scottish approach of no tuition however, this requires significant state investment in a departure from the marketisation dogma.</p>	If the expectation is accessibility for all qualified candidates, then the current Scottish approach or even the English approach will work in Scotland.	Similar outcomes cannot be expected if the institutional capabilities that anchor quasi-markets in one context are unavailable in another.
Emergent theme: Point of intersectionality.	Due to lack of investment and regulation by the state which has meant that few of the alleged benefits of marketisation including quality is evident in the sector, as well as a global market which has been facilitated by SAPs, the richest Nigerians travel to places like the UK to exercise choice and seek quality. Dependency theory explains this adequately.	With 28% of students in Scottish HEIs being international, the Scottish HE sector is heavily reliant on internationalisation which is facilitated by the neoliberal hegemony.	Developing countries are open to exploitation by developed ones due to neoliberal hegemony and can only be addressed by state involvement.

Table 9.8 Major findings and lessons

9.3.2. Lessons

Scotland

Going through the objectives of this study, which are user charges and marketisation and the implications this has for access, the findings and the literature does not indicate any negative implications for access based on the scope of the study.

From a wider marketisation viewpoint, Scotland as a “core” country has been able to exploit the benefits of liberalisation of trade to secure additional revenue from “periphery” countries.

While the above has obvious benefits for Scottish universities and Scotland, it does expose Scotland to market trends as highlighted by university administrators and finance officers interviewed who all indicated that any drop in international student numbers would affect the operations of Scottish universities.

The alleged benefits of marketisation appear to accrue significantly to Scotland as a developed country.

Recommendations for Scotland

Scotland should continue to exploit the global international student market to attract high-fee-paying students. There is a demand for the services that they offer, and they have the resources to supply it.

In order to address challenges that could emerge as a result of changes in international student enrolment, additional state investment might be required.

Nigeria

Evaluating the research objectives and data in the case of Nigeria finds significant negative implications. Access is limited to those who can pay which findings show is not a sizable proportion of the citizenry. While a pure market exists, most of the supposed benefits of markets are not evident resulting in the exodus of the richest.

It can be argued that private provision has added to the supply pool and based on the views of participants has also in some cases introduced some quality into the sector however, this needs to be balanced with the fact that the perceived poor quality in the public institutions and the existence of private providers is facilitated by a reduction in state investment in the university sector and wider marketisation.

Recommendations for Nigeria

Accessibility

With just around 25% of those seeking university education in Nigeria securing places even with private provision, the government simply has to invest in university education.

Given the requirements for setting up universities, evidence from within Nigeria where private providers outnumber public ones shows significant undersupply exists and that everything cannot be left to the markets. Undersupply can only be addressed by the government if any significant impact is to be made in addressing this issue.

Beyond addressing undersupply, the government also needs to invest in the existing universities to ensure that perceived quality improves. This can potentially reverse the trend of candidates travelling abroad because of a perceived lack of quality in the university sector.

Given the practical justifications for an increase in the use of charges provided by participants which are “to raise revenue due to government’s inability or unwillingness to fund university education,” it appears improbable that free university education can be provided. Poverty rates discussed indicates that many Nigerians would still be priced out.

The lack of institutional capabilities for means-testing which means that access and exemption programs are unlikely to function in the manner that they operate in some developed countries also suggests that any approach to improve access is likely universal as opposed to targeting approach.

In the long term, institutional capabilities to means-test should be built up to ensure that poorer qualified candidates can access the services that they need through improvements in national identity systems and tax collection systems for example.

These can then be followed by the development of government-backed loans and grant systems similar to the approach adopted in England.

In the short-term, alternative schemes of identifying an individual's personal circumstances like personal recommendations can be piloted even though this is heavily susceptible to corruption. However, this should not be a reason why they cannot be piloted.

Addressing wider marketisation and the apparent dependency phenomenon identified

While prosperity for all is one of the justifications of NPM, marketisation and market liberalisation, the findings of this study and the conclusions of many scholars in this field including Larbi (1999), Williamson (2002) indicates that developed countries disproportionately benefit.

In the words of some of the research participants, if developing countries including Nigeria are happy to outsource the education of their people to other countries, then countries like Scotland are happy to provide the service because they are just supplying a service for which there is a demand. As sovereign countries, most countries have some levels of control over such matters.

Given the resources that leave developed countries based on the transaction highlighted above, it is in the interest of developing countries to address this flight of resources.

Findings of the dependency phenomenon do not absolve authorities and the people of developing countries from their roles in developments up to date. Regardless of external pressures, the responsibility of inadequate funding of the sector, the adoption of a market-based approach to service delivery lies

with local governments. Inability to improve the quality in the sector which has resulted in people seeking quality elsewhere also lies with the local authorities.

On the issue of international student mobility, it is important to note that Nigeria is a democracy and the only way people can be persuaded to stay in the country for studies thereby keeping the resources that are taken out of the economy for studies; and for people who have moved out of the country to come back is if the supposed benefits of marketisation, including quality and conditions people are looking for, exists within the country. Most students that move abroad for studies self-fund so the extent to which the country has control over where people end up is limited.

If the goal of government is to facilitate a society where qualified people have access to the services that they need then the government has to invest in the university sector to address undersupply, provide the quality that people need and provide a system where wealth does not determine access to a service like education. This appears to be in conflict with NPM, neoliberalism and marketisation which advocates lesser state investment and involvement. It also contradicts Hood (1991)'s argument that the criticisms of NPM reforms should only be considered from an administrative values perspective and not from the perspective of the wider role of the state in society. If the aim is to facilitate an equitable society, this study has established that the criticisms of marketisation reforms cannot be separated from the role of the state in society and that in some contexts, such reforms might be unsuitable and create significant problems.

Stronger regulations are needed for the countries that have international competitive providers that operate in them, in order to ensure that the competition with local providers is fair and that the business activities conducted by these foreign organisations are in the best interests of the host countries.

Instead of foreign universities for example coming in to set up their own autonomous universities, conditions can be put in place to make sure that the only way they can operate is if they partner with local universities.

Other actions to manage resource loss can include legislation to ensure that any organisation looking to do business in these countries has to spend a certain percentage of their revenue within the country through various mechanisms which can include charitable causes or investment in specific sectors.

The one size fits all approach to management

Hood (1991) titled his paper on NPM “*A New Public Management for all seasons*” and many other scholars cited in this thesis have talked about wider marketisation reforms being global. Francis Fukuyama discussed “*The end of History*” where arguments were made that Western capitalist ideology had outlasted other ideologies.

All these theories which informed the analytical framework point to a universal approach to public administration and service delivery which is grounded in unrestrained markets based on efficiency and choice benefits.

Yet, Scotland and many other developed countries which promote these ideologies through their dominance of IFIs have resisted unrestrained markets, particularly the use of charges because they are perceived to result in accessibility challenges and lack of equity.

Developing countries like Nigeria, on the other hand, appear to have adopted the most of these policies which have resulted in negative outcomes. There appears to be a need to adopt customised policies to address local needs.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

10.0 Research Overview

In recent times, university education systems in many countries have been marketised and liberalised, with the market entry of private-for-profit providers; introduction and increase in the use of direct charges for tuition; institutional rankings and aids to consumer choice are proliferating and universities and colleges are increasingly devoting resources to branding; in short, the market is coming to dominate (Molesworth et al., 2010). The reform agenda is described by Johnstone et al., (1998) in a World Bank report as one orientated to the market rather than public ownership or to government regulation or planning. It was further emphasised that underlying the market orientation of tertiary education is the worldwide ascendancy of market capitalism and the principles of neoliberal economics at the expense of national planning and regulation.

Given the global perceptions of marketisation above, this study set out to investigate the reforms in a developed and developing country context. Consequently, this study critically examined the implications of user charges and apparent marketisation in university education in Nigeria and Scotland using NPM, SAPs and associated theories as frameworks for evaluation.

This was done to establish if indeed the reforms are as global as the literature indicates; evaluate the implications of adopting a similar approach to management and finance of university education in a developed and developing country context, and examine the wider implications of marketisation in a global context.

Marketisation of university education and the use of charges has attracted considerable interest in the past few decades from academics and non-academics, however, most of these interests tend to focus on marketisation at the country level or when they are comparative, compare marketisation

between two or more developed, or developing countries – See section 1.1. Very few studies have examined marketisation by comparing a developed and developing country in the same study. Given the global perceptions of marketisation reforms, a rationale for investigating the reforms and their implications in the context of a developed and developing country emerged. This marks a point of departure from most of the existing comparative studies of marketisation of university education.

Relative to developed countries, there is also not enough studies that engage with marketisation in developing countries, particularly its implications for access due to the lack of statistical data for evaluation. This study contributes to the body of knowledge that exists in this field by adopting a qualitative approach.

The literature reviewed identified NPM and other theoretical concepts including neoliberalism, The Washington Consensus, Structural Adjustment Programs, post-colonial and developmental literature as theories that could explain the developments described above and these informed the analytical framework however particular emphasis was placed on NPM due to the relatively robust academic interest it had enjoyed.

Markets are a means of social coordination in which the supply and demand for services and goods are balanced through the price mechanism with consumers having the ability to choose suitable alternatives based on availability, quality and price (Molesworth et al., 2010). Organising economies on a market basis is often held as representing the best use of societal resources and are favourably compared with planned economies where the state controls quantities and prices (Brown 2011). Marketisation refers to moving an economy from a planned economy approach to a market economy approach or organising a particular sector like the university sector on a market basis in a move away from a planned basis (Brown and Carasso 2013).

The market approach has been held up by policymakers, academics and IFIs in publications including World Bank (1988; 1992; 1994; 1995) as the best model for managing university education – see sections 1.1 and 5.2.

It is on the back of the above that this study examined the adoption of this perceived “favourably contrasted” approach in a developed and developing country and its implications in both contexts by looking at Nigeria and Scotland. Nigeria and Scotland were adopted as case study countries because they appeared to have adopted different policies for charging which is considered a strong indicator of marketisation (Molesworth et al., 2010; Brown 2011; Brown and Carasso 2013).

The context of a developed and developing country and the global perception of marketisation shaped the research focus and informed the aims and objectives of this study highlighted in chapter one and reviewed below, which are to:

1. Critically examine developments in university education finance and management approaches, with emphasis on the use of charges in Nigeria and Scotland and evaluate implications for access.
2. Investigate the extent to which university education in both locations can be considered marketized by evaluating the extent to which features of NPM can be observed in university education and consider outcomes.
3. Evaluate the extents to which similar policies for management of university education and general service delivery by extension can be adopted in seemingly different countries and consider implications for outcomes.

Based on the literature and the key drivers of the reforms which were IFIs and developed countries that dominated them, it was expected that Scotland would exhibit more features of marketisation.

A research finding which was an emergent theme was a point of intersectionality of university sectors in developed and developing countries in the context of marketisation reforms which was the phenomena of students moving primarily from developing countries to developed countries for education and paying a premium in the process which was explained by dependency theory as theorised by Prebisch (1971) – see section 3.4.

Research findings are represented and re-evaluated below to establish if the objectives set-out in chapter one and above have been met.

10.1. Research Conclusions

Various research questions emerged as the researcher became more engaged with the literature and the research problem gained clarity. The researcher identified the focus and approach the study should take to meet the criteria which would allow it to make a valuable contribution to knowledge in a field of study which had attracted significant interests from many angles, but in which there was further scope for development. The research questions and approach provided a capacity for the critical evaluation of a broad area (marketisation reforms) within a sector (university education) in the comparative context of a developed and developing country (Nigeria and Scotland) thus providing distinct parameters which are individually addressed. Due to time and resource constraints, the study primarily focussed on charges for home students and not on other factors like living expenses in the two countries.

User charges for tuition for home students

As highlighted in chapter 4, Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) posited that *“everything that can be charged should be charged”*. The question this research asked and answered was; would this still be the position if charges mean a sizable portion of the population cannot access a service like HE which Molesworth et al., (2010) and Brown (2011) argue has significant public benefits? A few participants, particularly from Scotland also indicated that

charges served other purposes beyond paying for what the state could or did not want to pay for, including signalling and maintaining equity through redistribution. However, this study established that while this might work in some contexts, it does not in others if people cannot access services that they need due to charges. Central to the positions above is the native context of the scholars and participants which is developed countries in which charges will likely have no implications for access due to provision on a quasi-market basis, and this is discussed subsequently.

Based on earlier definitions of markets and marketisation and its favourable perception compared to other approaches to managing the economy as well as the chief promoters of marketisation which were established to be IFIs and developed countries that dominate them as discussed in chapter 1, section 1, it would be expected that a charging approach would be used in university education in most countries, particularly the developed ones.

Data from both primary and secondary sources showed that the tuition policy for home undergraduate students which fall within the scope of this study is one of free tuition in Scotland – see sections 5.2. and 7.2. This was a departure from the global perception of marketisation and universities being run on a market basis from the narrow viewpoint of charges. While it was acknowledged that a marketisation approach and charging regime was being adopted in other places including other countries in the UK, the approach in Scotland was justified as a local approach taken to ensure that no qualified candidate is denied access to university education due to charges according to the Ministerial foreword in ScotGov (2011). Incidentally, the justification for the policy in Scotland was to guarantee equity of access.

Hood (1991) highlighted that market-type reforms are often criticised based on the contradiction between equity and efficiency values, but that such criticisms can only be considered in terms of administrative values and good administration rather than broader ideas about the role of the state in society.

The findings here suggest that despite the position that a market approach is the best way to organise the economy as promoted by IFIs and developed countries, Scotland, a developed country has taken a seemingly planned economy approach which is theoretically less favourably viewed because it is deemed more equitable. This would suggest that the highlighted contradictions between equity and efficiency values are a valid criticism of a market approach.

Nigeria, on the other hand, has overwhelmingly adopted and increased the use of charges in its university sector which sees home undergraduate students studying in the State, Federal or private universities shouldering more or all of the costs of university education in the face of reduced government investment in the university sector – See sections 5.3 and 7.2. The Nigerian embrace of charges which was evidenced by both primary and secondary data conforms with the view of marketisation being global in the narrow context of charges as evidenced by literature including Larbi (1999) and Brock-Utne (2003).

Implications of the respective approaches on access

A central aim of this thesis was to evaluate the implications of charges for access. Given that there are no charges for “home” undergraduate students in Scotland, this was not taken further with participants. Participants, some of whom were researchers in this field highlighted other socio-economic factors that could have negative implications for access including living expenses which were funded by a combination of means-tested grants, loans and private funding, however, these fell out of the scope of this research and will be recommended as areas of future research.

From a Nigerian perspective, increase in the use of charges which in some cases were considered to cover the full cost of teaching in some of the State universities was considered by many participants to have significant negative implications for access given socio-economic conditions within Nigeria which sees it as the country with the highest numbers of poor people globally according to Vanguard (2018). This confirms most of the secondary literature

reviewed including Larbi (1999), Brock-Utne (2003), Ochwa-Echel (2013) which all indicated that charges and wider marketisation in developing countries had a negative implication for access.

This finding, however, does not mean enrolments have reduced. Trends including data from NBS (2017) show that enrolments have increased over time in a departure from the laws of demand and supply where it would be expected that numbers would fall, particularly in the socio-economic context of Nigeria. This is explained by the fact that demand far exceeds supply or in economic terms is inelastic with figures showing that less than 25% of candidates secure places in the HE education sector in Nigeria. What this means is that regardless of cost, there are likely to be some out of the 75% that do not secure places that are willing and able to pay whatever universities charge given the social perceptions of university graduates in Nigeria. This, however, masks serious problems of the poorest in society including the 62.5% living in poverty according to NBS (2017) not being able to access HE given the highlighted externalities and public benefits.

The lack of data on access based on socio-economic status meant that primary data was the perception of individuals who met the inclusion criteria.

At this point, it is important to re-emphasize the nature of participants that suggested above that university education is increasingly inaccessible. The sampling approaches adopted were purposive and snowball sampling in which HE insiders were selected to be interviewed on the basis of inside or expert knowledge that they might have on developments in the sector -see section 6.4. These were individuals who had jobs which are comparatively well paid in relation to the over 60% of Nigerians that live in poverty or the over 40% that are unemployed or underemployed (NBS 2017). However, all these individuals suggested that university education was increasingly inaccessible because of rising costs. While most studies including one such as this which concerns an issue that is likely to affect most of the citizenry could benefit from involving more people that are representative of the whole population, the likelihood of

poorer people having the same perception of accessibility in relation to increasing charges is high.

Are quasi-markets the institutional structures in use in developed and developing countries?

A recurring theme through this thesis from the literature reviewed in section 1.1 including Molesworth et al., (2010) to discussions of markets in public service delivery discussed in section 4.9, including Le Grand and Bartlett (1993) as well as literature on developments within UK higher education and findings from UK-based participants were that while marketisation had become more evident, university education in many developed countries including the UK was provided on a quasi-market basis. Quasi-markets are designed to enjoy the equity benefits of classic approaches to administration and also enjoy the supposed benefits of markets (Le Grand 2011; Brown 2011). The question that followed given the perceived global nature of these reforms was if university education was provided in the manner described above in both Nigeria and Scotland. This research found that university education in Scotland was provided on a quasi-market basis with the government still significantly involved in most areas of management and finance.

Even England which has a charging policy is a quasi-market because every qualified individual has access to government-backed loans and no one is denied access on the basis of not being able to pay (Molesworth et al., 2010). Even though all UK-based participants were aware that this was a study that compared Nigeria and Scotland, on most issues most of them responded with comparisons of the Scottish university sector with England which again reinforces the justification for this study given the perceived global nature of market-type reforms. While England was not a direct focus of the study, given that Scotland was chosen to highlight the fact that some countries developed countries still adopted a planned economy approach, it served the purpose of showing that even in developed countries where a charging approach is taken, the organisation and subsequent outcomes are still significantly different from the management and outcomes in developing countries like Nigeria. Most

participants tended to be just as knowledgeable about the English university sector and this was useful in achieving the objectives of this study.

Findings for Nigeria, unlike in places like the UK, showed that charges for public services like university education are paid upfront or must be paid before the end of the academic year, and loans, grants or exception systems do not currently exist – see section 7.2. The institutional structures in which university education functions in Nigeria was established based on primary data to be pure markets and not quasi-markets. Some universities, particularly the Federal ones still enjoy significant subsidies but the increasing use of charges, particularly in State universities mean students and their families are shouldering more of the costs of education. Many state universities were found to now charge what covers most, or all of the cost of tuition.

From a theoretical viewpoint, this is a departure from market-based systems of service provision in which service users enjoy the equity benefits of traditional systems of PA and the supposed efficiency benefits of market-based provision (quasi-markets). While some of the supposed benefits of markets including choice and quality improvements are enjoyed by some (those who can pay), this choice is unlikely to benefit most of the population who live in poverty.

Findings on outcomes of charging policies given the socio-economic context of Nigeria is that more people are increasingly priced out of university education. This negative implication again supports the efficiency versus equity contradiction of market-type and NPM reforms identified by Hood (1991) and questions the suitability of charging policies and marketisation policies that were transferred or imposed through SAPs in the 1980s and 1990s. The SAPs and subsequent publications from IFIs called for reduced funding by the state, the introduction of marketisation in most areas of public service delivery and the use of charges. Findings indicated that charges are a response to reduced

government funding which SAPs and other conditions attached to financial reprieve by IFIs and net lending nations called for.

A question earlier asked was if scholars including Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997) and indeed some of the research participants who suggested that anything that can be charged should be charged would have the same attitude to charging if they were aware that the resulting outcome would be lack of access for most service users. Based on the findings in this study, this is unlikely to be the case. Most of the people who take this position are from developed countries where charges are unlikely to have significant effects for service users because services are provided on a quasi-market basis which makes their position understandable. The challenge, however, is that given the lack of comparable academic outputs from developing countries of the same quantity and quality on these themes, policies advocated by supranational bodies are likely to be heavily influenced by literature and theories from developed countries, even when they are about developing countries. This creates a problem for developing countries because these academic outputs including the likes of Bird and Tsiopoulos (1997), Saint et al., (2003) are seemingly not grounded in the practical realities in developing countries.

The conclusions above focus on charges in government-run universities in Nigeria. Conclusions on other developments including private university education providers and other implications of marketisation are addressed subsequently.

10.2. Marketisation

The research conclusions discussed thus far have focussed narrowly on charges which Brown (2011c) indicates is a significant feature of marketisation. The conclusions highlighted above indicate that the policy in Scotland is planned with no charges and there are consequently no negative implications for access, in a departure from the view that marketisation is a global phenomenon; while the conclusions from Nigeria is that charging has

been embraced in common with the perception of marketisation being global and this has resulted in significant negative implications for access.

This section represents findings from a wider view of marketisation based on the presence or absence of some of the features of NPM and market-type reforms identified by scholars including Hood (1991), Molesworth et al., (2010) etc. These include deregulation to allow autonomous providers (private-for-profit providers); reduction in state funding; corporatisation; and market practices like competition, performance management etc. Also addressed is the movement of students primarily from developing countries to developed countries.

Molesworth et al., (2010) suggested that no developed system had all of the characteristics of market systems and that there might be a limit to the extent to which the theory of markets can be applied to them. This proved to be the case in this study with findings on the extent to which the wider features of marketisation was present in the university sector in Scotland. For example, private-for-profit providers do not exist in Scotland and findings also show that the extent to which state funding has reduced is negligible with a 4% reduction in real terms over 3 years. Regulatory limits on price and numbers enrolled also exist which is a departure from the view of markets being systems where the market determined price and quantity.

Other features of marketisation were however identified including increased competition, performance management, and some user choice where users could decide, what, where and how to study based on the availability of accessible, valid, reliable information about quality, price and other factors.

An important feature of marketisation which was evident in Scotland is corporatisation and this is discussed subsequently.

Based on findings, Nigeria exhibited most of the characteristics of marketisation and these are briefly discussed below.

Market entry of private-for-profit providers

Since the return of democracy in 1999 after almost decades of uninterrupted military rule, private university education has become a feature of the Nigerian university landscape and the numbers have grown to surpass the government-run universities. Most of the earlier conclusions of university education not being accessible to most Nigerians due to inability to pay was focussed on government-run universities.

While private universities were credited by participants with increasing supply and injecting some quality into the university sector, the overwhelming perception from participants was that private university education in Nigeria was only accessible to the richest in society.

In agreement with Molesworth et al., (2010)'s position on markets where it is argued that a feature of a market is one in which there are no regulations on prices and enrolment numbers, no such regulations exist for private universities in Nigeria. Private universities charge between N200,000 to N3,500,000 per year in a country where the monthly minimum wage is N18,000; government-backed loans or grants do not exist; the average family has over 5 children; over 40% are unemployed or underemployed and over 60% live in poverty – see sections 5.3, 7.2 and 7.3. All of the above confirms the perceptions of participants that only a small subsection of Nigerians can access private universities.

All the features of markets as highlighted by Molesworth et al., (2010), Brown (2011a) and Brown and Carasso (2013) including legally autonomous institutions (private universities); little or no regulation for market entry (quality concerns and accreditation issues tied to some private universities); no regulatory limits on prices and numbers enrolled; cost of teaching met entirely through fees directly collected from students and their guardians; users able to choose based on the availability of reliable information are all present for university education in Nigeria. This is indicative of a pure market in university education in Nigeria, particularly as it concerns private provision.

The Nigerian case, where even with deregulation and private university provision, demand still exceeds supply shows the limitation of markets in university education in Nigeria. The market or marketisation in the case of Nigeria has shown that it is incapable of meeting user needs and demand even in an environment where evidence thus far shows a significant number of consumers would pay whatever is charged.

This is not to say that before the deregulation of the sector, state monopolisation of university education met demand as secondary data for over two decades showed in chapter 5, Table 5.1. This could, however, be explained by the twin issues of lack of government funding due to marketisation and massification. Private provision is unlikely to go away, and this is not being advocated here because based on participants' perceptions, they provide much-needed quality, however, government needs to properly regulate and invest in university education to improve supply and inject some quality into the existing institutions.

Drivers of marketisation

While marketisation reforms, particularly the use of charges is acknowledged to be in use in other places, Scotland has seemingly adopted a local approach along the lines of a planned economy due to equity of access considerations.

As established from the literature including Brock-Utne (2003), Ochwa-Echel (2013), World Bank (1988; 1992; 1994 and 1995) and findings, higher education funding and management policies in the developing world is heavily influenced by IFIs and developed countries who dominate IFIs and are net lenders to developing countries. The specific mechanisms through which these external agents influence policies based on literature was identified to be SAPs and conditions tied to financial relief as discussed in chapters 2 and 3 which were supposed to bring mutual benefits to all. These can be explained by colonial, post-colonial literature and dependency theories and conclusions of these are provided below.

10.3. Points of intersectionality between the University education sectors in Nigeria and Scotland

Developmental theories including modernisation theory describe methods of bringing poorer or developing countries up to the level of the rich or developed ones. This incidentally is some of the justifications for colonialism, and globalisation has in recent times accelerated these developments. However, the promise of development for all is a little less clear. What this study found is that as part of marketisation drives in university education in the global context, while university education service delivery in Scotland is provided on a quasi-market basis to undergraduate home students, it functions as a pure market in many other areas. These include multinational operations typically in developing countries and in competition with local universities; online programs which are largely targeted at students from developing countries; and the admission of a significant number of students from developing countries to study locally in developed countries – see section 8.5. As the literature and findings established, these operations are worth upwards of 20% of the total income of universities in developed countries like Scotland and are worth even more to the wider economy.

On the other hand, SAPs and a market approach to service delivery in developing countries has resulted in university sectors that provide very little of the supposed benefits of markets including quality or choice which results in those few people in the country that can afford the premium charged by foreign universities seeking these benefits in foreign universities and taking resources out of developing countries to do this. As the findings in section 8.5 showed using conservative estimates, what the number of Nigerian students in the UK alone spend is more than a third of the annual education budget for all levels of education by the Federal government. These are resources that could be of use within Nigeria, however, due to the perceived lack of quality and choice people are seeking HE from foreign providers.

From an economic viewpoint, particularly in a globalisation context, the developments above should not matter because there is a demand which

suppliers who are positively perceived are filling. However, according to post-colonial and developmental theories with emphasis on dependency theory, while the rules of the market supposedly neutrally fosters competition to benefit all, the current order of neoliberal hegemony favours the core (developed countries) to outcompete those at the periphery (developing countries) and does not necessarily benefit all. With market competition at the heart of all activities and neoliberal forces conceptualising educated individuals everywhere as human capital that is highly valued and mobile, the trends identified here do not appear to benefit periphery countries the way they benefit the core countries. The imbalances identified here are unlikely to be corrected by the markets and require strong state intervention.

10.4. Theoretical and policy implications of findings and recommendations

The theory suggested that markets are the best models for delivering public services and are supposed to be global. Findings indicated that marketisation, particularly charges are not as global as the literature indicates and that most developed countries adopt some elements of market-based provision and not others based on equity of access considerations which results in services being provided on a quasi-market basis and not on a pure market basis. This mitigates negative implications for “home students”.

This is despite this research showing that marketisation policies and even the use of charges is primarily advocated by the so-called “developed countries”.

Nigeria, on the other hand, appears to have adopted a pure market approach which results in inequitable access. The findings show the challenges inherent in adopting policies without fully considering all the variables that make it work in the importer country as highlighted in section 3.1 on the challenges of policy transfer. This study showed that provision on a quasi-market basis as it exists in Scotland is currently not feasible in Nigeria due to the lack of institutional capabilities in which the Scottish model of provision is grounded.

Increased competition does not mean regulation is reduced particularly in the area of charges for private universities. Government attempts to engineer markets in higher education needs to be matched with regulations in areas of quality and quantity of information that is available in the sector. Issues of equity at both the individual level and institutional level as a result of enhanced local and international competition can also only be addressed by the state. This bears similarities to conclusions reached by the likes of Teixeira (2009) and Brown (2013).

Overall, While the evidence from both Nigeria and Scotland indicates that market practices including competition do to a certain level deliver some of the supposed benefits of introducing market forces including responsiveness, efficiency, choice innovation etc., these benefits need to be balanced with issues of institutional stratification due to both local and international competition; reduction in diversity of institutional offerings because institutions are only incentivised to run revenue generating programs that bring in the highest margins and target them to those who can pay the highest, and equity of access needs to be addressed by the state.

Evidence from Nigeria indicates that currently the introduction of market practices, particularly charges, has not been met by increased regulations as indicated by the likes of Teixeira (2009), Le Grand (2011) and (Brown 2013); and that equity of access has suffered as a result, given the socio-economic welfare peculiarities of the country and the lack of government support systems to temper the adverse effects of marketisation.

Evidence from Scotland suggests that the introduction of some market features in the sector has been met with increasing regulations; charges which are a strong indicator of markets has been resisted due to the belief by policymakers that it will have negative effects for equity, resulting in a more equitable university sector, based on research scope and findings.

Evidence from Scotland shows that it is possible to enjoy some of the supposed benefits of the introduction, extension of market or quasi-markets if it is well monitored and regulated.

This research would suggest that currently in some contexts, as findings from Scotland shows, it is possible to have a market system in the university sector and enjoy some of the benefits of market systems; while in some developing countries like Nigeria, marketisation is likely to create more problems than it solves. This calls into question the one-size-fits-all approach to PA and service delivery that has become a feature of service delivery in many countries in recent times.

While markets were defined by Brown (2011) as systems in which the forces of the market determined demand and supply with no or little government intervention, if the definition is extended to quasi-markets based on Le Grand and Bartlett (2003)'s definition, this study has shown that equity of access and some of the other benefits of markets in higher education can only be guaranteed by state intervention as findings from Nigeria and Scotland show.

10.5. Research impact, Contribution to knowledge and importance

This research contributes to knowledge on many levels. This study has provided a further exploration into the study of marketisation of university education. It contributes by its examination of marketisation comparatively by its evaluation of marketisation, outcomes and implications in a developed and developing country in a field dominated by studies which only evaluate such developments as it affects either one or more developed countries or one or more developing countries. The research also contributes by being empirical in a field that is usually non-empirical as highlighted by most of the sources cited. The qualitative nature of this research sought to strengthen theory and expand scope from an uncommon methodological approach within marketisation studies. The adoption of a qualitative approach while partly driven by practicalities of lack of incomparable data is also relatively unique

and resulted in the generation of rich contextual data that yielded robust findings. The methodological approach also resulted in the development of an emergent theme which the researcher considers an original contribution to knowledge. This relates to findings on the intersectionality of HE systems in developed and developing countries which was theoretically conceptualised using dependency theory. In the global HE market which has partly been facilitated by SAPs, it was identified that education for some privileged people in developing countries was increasingly provided by HE providers from developed countries through various means and HE systems in developed countries are increasingly reliant on these revenue streams. This echoes resource exploitation during the colonial era and is explained by dependency theory now. While this is not particularly an original finding for HE insiders, what is original is the comparative nature of this study which charted how this came to be in the post-colonial era and its drivers. Also revealed was how this can be reversed which is curbing the role of the market in service delivery by more significant government intervention and investment.

Research also contributed to knowledge by highlighting the limitations of market provision in Nigeria by showing that markets in certain contexts are incapable of meeting demand. As discussed in chapter 4 on charges, the risk of undersupply is a major rationale for government control of the mechanisms of service delivery and this study highlighted this.

The research also contributes to knowledge by adding to the body of knowledge on the use of user charges, marketisation and their implications in a developing country like Nigeria which relative to developed countries has witnessed less academic interest even though these reforms have more significant negative implications for developing countries. Literature from authors from developed countries as highlighted by most of the IFI papers cited in this study shape policy prescriptions advocated by IFI and other external partners of developing countries. As discussed in the methodology section a researcher or writer being grounded in the local perspective makes for good research or a good write-up. As discussed in chapter 4 section 1, the likes of

Bird and Tsioupoulos (1997) who argue that “*everything that can be charged should be charged*”, and the likes of Hartnett (2000) and Saint et al., (2003) who in writing for the World Bank argue that the use of charges should be increased and that Nigerians can be charged on a sliding scale are writing based on theory, practice and possibilities that exist in their environments which are developed countries. As the findings of this research shows, most of what is advocated including charging on a sliding scale is impossible in Nigeria and while charges are possible and are increasingly used, they result in undesirable outcomes. More researchers and writers from developing countries like Nigeria need to conduct more research on these issues, publish more and potentially write for the IFIs and external partners about issues that affect developing countries. The researcher sees this study as a contribution in this direction of “native research or indigenous analysis”. People from developing countries must tell their own stories through academia and other media.

The research also presented recommendations for policy and governance approaches to service delivery including university education finance and management derived from the primary data findings.

10.6. Limitations and areas of future research

In common with any study, theoretical and practical limitations exist. Social science problems are generally complex, and it is not often feasible to analyse large numbers of cases or variables used to examine them. Researchers are usually faced with the choice of evaluating a high number of entities, whilst limiting the number of properties to define them, or examine limited samples comprehensively (Sayer 1992). This study has taken the latter approach by examining marketisation in just two countries with a focus on the university sector even though public service and administration reforms that favour marketisation are considered relatively global and affect many aspects of many economies in multiple contexts. Given this approach, a significant limitation is that findings cannot be empirically generalised as they are not representative of outcomes of marketisation of university education in all

developed and developing countries. According to Danermark et al., (2002: 165) 'Actual concrete patterns and contingent relations are unlikely to be "representative" or "average" or generalizable'. Consequently, findings are case specific to Nigeria and Scotland and it is only possible to view findings on user charges, marketisation and implications for access in these contexts. Additionally, the intensive approach adopted focusses on generative mechanisms; "investigating how a mechanism works in a concrete situation involves tracing the causal power and describing the interaction between powers that produce a social phenomenon" (Danermark et al, 2002: 166). Though, this approach cannot discover how common a phenomenon is or population characteristics. It would be vital to conduct follow up studies that examine marketisation and its implications in other contexts using even more variables or different variables than this study engaged with.

Findings are the perception of individuals who met the inclusion criteria and cannot be generalised beyond that. Beyond expanding the inclusion criteria used in this research for participants to include more varied members of society, other areas of potential beneficial studies were also indicated throughout the study.

While this research looked primarily at user charges for tuition, as highlighted by multiple participants from the UK, living expenses is arguably a more significant aspect of total expenses incurred by students both in Scotland and England. Studies which consider implications for access when both tuition and living expenses are considered or just living expenses are encouraged due to the continued reduction of grants which are replaced by loans in Scotland and almost total replacement of grants by loans in England. The researcher is aware of an individual currently looking at this issue for Scotland, so more research in these areas is encouraged particularly in comparative contexts.

With Scotland currently paying tuition for EU undergraduate students in the context of the decision of the UK to leave the EU, a research which looks at

how many EU students who study in Scotland stay on after to benefit the economy can also prove useful from a policy perspective post-Brexit to see if this can keep attracting EU citizens to Scotland and potential benefits to Scotland.

Given the global perception of marketisation of university education and general public service delivery as indicated by Brown (2011), Molesworth et al. (2011) etc., the apparent policy imposition by external agents (IFIs) in marketising public service delivery in developing nations highlighted by IFI publications cited in this study and consequent negative outcomes that this study found, it is very surprising that there are very few studies (particularly empirical) that evaluate these issues in developing nations. This is relative to developed nations where it is established that even when some of the features of marketisation are adopted, it has negligible negative implications for access due to provision on a quasi-market basis. This is what this study has achieved and there should be more of such studies evaluating the same sector using even more variables or different sectors like healthcare.

In Nigeria, the government needs to first be engaged as to what the purpose of the university sector is and if the focus is on improving supply-driven access challenges or general access challenges to improve equity of access. Studies that examine the corresponding policy and potential outcomes can be attempted. Further studies evaluating policies in other aspects of the economy, outcomes and policy drivers are encouraged. The literature on university education management and finance in developing countries particularly sub-Saharan Africa is limited and dated compared to most developed countries and this is reflected in the reference list in this thesis. Further studies and publications in this area is encouraged.

From a policy transfer perspective, studies evaluating the comparative impact of market-type reforms and its outcomes particularly in developing countries which share similar features to Nigeria can be explored. These could serve the

purpose of emphasising context and an evaluation of local realities when formulating and implementing policy.

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APPENDIX 1 (INFORMED CONSENT FORM)



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

USER CHARGES AND MARKETISATION IN LINE WITH NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT REFORMS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF USER CHARGES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ACCESS IN UNDERGRADUATE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA AND SCOTLAND

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name of participant: _____

Signature of participant: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Contact details of the researcher

Name of the researcher: Oladipo Osuntubo

Address: School of business enterprise and management
Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh
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APPENDIX 2 (INFORMATION SHEET)



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

Information Sheet for Potential Participants

My name is Oladipo Osuntubo and I am a PhD student in the School of Arts, Social Sciences and Management (ASSAM) at Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh. The title of this research is “User charges and marketisation in line with new public management reforms: A comparative study of user charges and implications for access in undergraduate university education in Nigeria and Scotland”.

This research examines the marketisation of and use of user charges for public services with a focus on undergraduate university education in Nigeria and Scotland in line with new public management reforms in most countries in the last three decades. It examines the change from classic public administration when most public services including university education were fully or mainly funded by the state via taxpayers to the system which exists now where some level of cost sharing is the norm for most services by looking at drivers, implications for access, theoretical and practical justifications of these reforms.

Research findings will contribute to knowledge by providing an evaluation of the effects and implications of new public management reforms on the marketisation of universities and the use of user charges in a comparative context of a developed and developing economy while also highlighting the implications of policy transfer without adequate consideration of local realities. Finally, the research will contribute to knowledge by critiquing some of the theoretical justifications for contemporary public service reforms in different contexts.

Criteria for involvement in this study is that participants are either university employees (academic or finance) or they play a role in policy formulation or implementation.

As experts, they will be asked to evaluate current funding policies in university education, apparent marketisation and implications for access.

Potential risks to participants as a result of participation in this research has been assessed and it has been determined that there is no risk to interviewees. Anonymity will be guaranteed.

Results may be published in a journal or presented at a conference.

If you would like to contact an independent person, who knows about this project, you are welcome to contact Dr Richard Bent.

If you have read and understood this information sheet, any questions you had have been answered, and you would like to be a participant in the study, please now see the consent form.

Contact details of the researcher

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